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JUNE MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President and both Vice-Presidents, Mr. ARTHUR LORD was chosen to preside.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and in the absence of the Librarian, the Editor reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From the estate of Mrs. Charles C. Smith, a bust in plaster of Alexander Hamilton, after Houdon, which long stood in the Library of our late associate, Charles Card Smith.

From Charles P. Greenough, 165 engraved portraits, English and American.

From Mrs. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., a bust in marble of Robert C. Winthrop, by Hiram Powers.

From Miss Antoinette P. Granger, of Canandaigua, New York, a bust in marble of her grandfather, Francis Granger, of New York, postmaster-general under President Harrison in 1841.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a purse bearing a miniature of Jenny Lind, which was bought as a souvenir when she was in Boston in 1850 by Otis Norcross for his wife.

From Dr. Warren, a photograph of a silhouette of Dr. John Dexter Treadwell, of Salem, which hangs in the Ropes Mansion there, whose son was the founder of the Treadwell Library of the Massachusetts General Hospital; also a medal honoring the Allies and commemorating the entrance of America into the War, issued to the contributors to the American Fund for the French wounded.

By deposit, from Dr. Warren, a silk banner, made by a Roxbury Society, commemorative of General Joseph Warren, and used in connection with the laying of the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument by Lafayette in 1825. After the exercises it was hung in the hall of the Norfolk House, Roxbury, but after some years it disappeared and has remained unknown for a half a century.

From Charles Stearns, engravings of Rufus Choate, Daniel Webster, and of President and Mrs. Garfield.

From Robert Bruce, of Clinton, New York, a photograph of Abraham Lincoln; taken in the early spring of 1865.

From Mr. Norcross, thirty United States coins.

From Francis Henry Appleton, a collection of ninety-eight coins.

By purchase, a collection of fifty-four encased postage stamps, which combined with those already in our cabinet forms one of the most complete collections of such stamps extant. During the time of great scarcity of small change in 1862 these stamps were issued in denominations from one to ninety cents by thirty-one firms; and are now of great rarity.

By purchase and exchange, a collection of seventy-one specimens of the work of J. A. Bolen, a die cutter who flourished in Springfield, Mass., from 1862 to 1869, which lacks four pieces of being complete, and is probably the most complete collection of Bolen's work extant.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Arthur Prentice Rugg accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary also reported the receipt of an invitation from the Historical Society of Nova Scotia to be present at the unveiling of a memorial to George Vaughan at Annapolis Royal on July 1. The Corresponding Secretary was designated as the representative of the Society with such other members as may be able to attend.

The Corresponding Secretary read notes of condolence on the death of Henry Adams from Sir Sidney Lee and Mr. Herbert Hall.

The Editor reported:

As gifts: From George Peabody Wetmore, a letter from James Russell Lowell and two from Count Witte, to George W. Smalley. The Lowell letter, referring to his address at the 250th anniversary of Harvard College, is as follows:

SOUTHBOROUGH, MASS., 12th Nov: 1886.

Dear Smalley, — I have written to MacVeigh explaining why I couldn't possibly come as I gladly would. I am driven to the wall with things to do.

I am very sorry not to see you again and very glad you liked my speech. To me they are always *awful* when they are cold — as a dead body used to be to the murderer. I fear to touch 'em lest they should bleed and convict me. I enclose a letter. Good bye and God bless you. Faithfully yours,

J. R. LOWELL.

From Charles P. Greenough, a number of manuscripts of Thomas and John Hancock, 1728-1815, being mercantile correspondence with merchants in London, Canada and Amsterdam, charter parties, legal papers and bills — amounting in all to about two hundred pieces. This material complements similar correspondence in the Society's collections.

From Mrs. Arthur W. Thayer, of Dedham, a number of mss., commercial letters and foreign price lists, passports and local notices, which supplement effectively similar material in the collections of the Society.

By purchase, a series of letters from Leonard Bliss, Jr., the historian of Rehoboth, to Elias Nason, 1832-1840, treating of their literary and historical productions, and travels in search for material.

Letters of John S. Place, written from France in 1811 and 1812, to Thomas Browne, a merchant of Portsmouth.

Nathan Matthews, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Dr. EMERSON presented to the Society the original ms. of his father's poem on "Boston," begun several years before the war, but not finished until the occasion of its delivery at Faneuil Hall, December 16, 1873, on the centennial anniversary of the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor. Dr. Emerson read the poem and called attention to the omissions and changes in the printed text.¹

Mr. BOWDITCH, in presenting to the Society the ms. records of "The Game Club" and a set of the five printed volumes taken from those records, gave an outline of the club and its activities. Formed in January, 1882, for twenty years it met at the houses of its members once in two weeks from November to May. Each person present wrote a short verse on a given subject, and at the supper these verses were read. Other games were played, but verse-making left the most permanent record. The contribution of each member was signed by initials, and a full list of members and guests accompanies the gift, "in the hope that some few in later generations may find it interesting to examine these records of the games which amused their ancestors." With the gift is a poem of presentation, written by Mrs. Charles P. Ware, closing with the lines:

¹ Emerson, *Poems* (1884), 182.

So tho' at first it may seem queer
To find us in this grave Society,
Not without reason are we here,
To add a little gay variety.

Of the printed volumes the edition ranged from twenty-one to twenty-four copies.

Mr. STOREY and Dr. EMERSON, members of "The Game Club" gave some interesting and amusing reminiscences of its meetings.

Dr. WARREN presented, on behalf of the Trustees of the Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a portfolio containing a series of thirty-nine photogravures made by A. W. Elson and Company of Belmont. These engravings form the illustrations of the *History* of the society, written by Mark A. de Wolf Howe, about to be published, and comprise portraits of the leading officers, beginning with James Bowdoin, two groups of trustees of 1858 and 1906, certificate of membership, silver pieces and medals, early instruments of restoration from drowning, and life boats. This series is an interesting record of the oldest of Societies organized for the saving of life and relief of suffering. While its earlier activities were concerned chiefly with the saving of life on the sea-coast, a work now taken over by the National Life-Saving Service, it still continues to be active in many useful fields, and it still lives up to its purpose of promoting the cause of humanity by "pursuing such means, from time to time, as shall have for their object the preservation of human life and the alleviation of its miseries." It is highly suggestive to contrast its purposes with the ruthless methods of the U-boat!

Mr. MINOT deposited the original records of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, beginning with its origin and incorporation in 1823, and continuing to 1846.

Mr. CHARLES P. GREENOUGH read an extract from Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead* (I. 166):

The prohibition of the [slave] *traffic*, in 1788, grew out of public indignation, produced by the Act of one Avery, from Connecticut, who decoyed three black men on board his vessel, under pretence of employing them; and while they were at work below, proceeded to sea, having previously cleared for Martinico. The knowledge of this outrage produced a great sensation. Governor Hancock and M.

L'Etombe, the French Consul, wrote in favor of the Kidnapped Negroes, to all the West India Islands. . . .

The poor negroes, carried off by that arch villain Avery, were offered for sale, in the Island of St. Bartholomew. They told their story publicly — *magna est veritas* — the Governor heard and believed it — the sale was forbidden. An inhabitant of the Island — a Mr. Atherton of blessed memory — became their protector, and gave bonds for their good behaviour, for six months. Letters, confirming their story, arrived. They were sent on their way home rejoicing, and arrived in Boston on the following 29th day of July.¹

and then read the following letter from the Governor of the island of St. Bartholomew, relating to the incident:

ROSENSTEIN TO JOHN HANCOCK.

GUSTAVIA Island of St. Bartholomews,
the 6th July, 1788.

SIR, — I have been favoured with the honor of your Excellencys Letter of the 21st April last, relative to the three unfortunate Negroes, Luke Russel, Wenham Cary and Cato Newell that where (altho' free) villanously Carried of from Your Excellencys Government to be disposed of as Slaves in the West Indies. I am exceedingly happy that I by the means of this accident not only have had the opportunity of satisfying my Sentiments of Humanity, but which is Still more agreeable (if there is any feelings Superior to those that a person Conceives when it is in his power of being of any Service to members of human kind) that of having by the Justice rendered to those three Blacks made myself deserving of Your Excellencys approbation. My satisfaction should however have been greater if the Barbarous Laws of the West Indies had permitted me to render them all the Justice they had by the Nature of their Cause the Right to claim, and of which I was in my private Opinion convinced they were entitled to; but our Laws are greatly to their disadvantage in all kind of Disputes between them and White Persons. This is the reason, why I have been obliged to detain them here, untill they could have procured sufficient and authentic proofs of the Right of their Cause, which is plainly obtain'd by Your Excellencys human intercession in their behalf; And in Consequence of which have not hesitated an instant to grant them permission to

¹ Sargent appears to have drawn his facts from the replies of Jeremy Belknap to the questions of St. George Tucker on slavery, 1795, printed in 1 *Collections*, iv. 204. See also Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, 225.

return to their Native Country with Capt. Benjamin Ives, Commanding the Brigantine *Diligence*, with whom I have agreed for their Passage for the Sum of Twenty-four Dollars; having taken the Liberty of giving said Benj'n Ives my draft on Your Excellency for the amount, not doubting but Your Excellency will be pleased to cause same to be paid.

Permit me Sir to rejoice at this Event as a mean of procuring me the advantage of paying my hommages to your Excellency as one of those eminent Characters that has so much Illustrated this Period, and whose exertions for the cause of Liberty, has already been too great for to admit any Augmen[tation] by your intercession in behalf of those unfortunate men. I am overjoyed that fortune has put it in my hands to shew my partiality in a cause that has costed Your Excellency so many cares and so much trouble, and whereby Your Excellency's illustrious Character will undoubtedly be transferred to a gratefull posterity, and furnish me with an Occasion of testifying how sensible I am of Your Excellency's merits, and assure Your Excellency of the great regard and esteem with which I have the honor to remain, Your Excellency's Most Ob't H'ble Servant,

ROSENSTEIN.

Mr. THAYER read a paper on

THE LONGEVITY OF HISTORIANS.

Not long ago I heard an interesting but somewhat distressing lecture by one of our medical experts, on occupational diseases. He described phossy jaw — the hideous ailment which attacks match makers and other workers in phosphorous. He told about the lung and throat troubles which afflict those whose work creates a metallic dust. He enlarged upon the ills which beset munitions makers, but he did not include the instantaneous bodily annihilation which results from an unexpected explosion of trinitrotoluol. I listened in vain to hear him tell of housemaid's knee; he either overlooked that or deemed it too mild to be included in his list of occupational diseases.

As our Vice-President, Mr. James Ford Rhodes, had just celebrated his seventieth birthday, I fell to thinking on the longevity of historians — an old hobby of mine — and on what sort of occupational disease, if any, they are liable to. I knew roughly that they are a long-lived tribe, but I could not recall any special malady to which they are heir. In order to be pre-

cise I made a little list of the ages of some of the chief historians, ancient and modern, which runs as follows:

Ancient. Herodotus, 60?: Thucydides, 70: Livy, 76: Tacitus, 62: Caesar, 56: Xenophon, 73?: Sallust, 52?: Josephus, 63. Average 64.

English. Clarendon, 66: Gibbon, 56: Hume, 65: Robertson, 72: Roscoe, 78: Hallam, 82: Macaulay, 59: Kinglake, 82: Carlyle, 86: Freeman, 69: Stubbs, 75: Gardiner, 73: J. R. Green, 46: Lecky, 65: Froude, 76: Mackintosh, 67: Goldwin Smith, 87: Grote, 77. Average 70. The two chief living British historians, James Bryce and John Morley, were both born in 1838, and are accordingly 80 this year.

French. Voltaire, 83: Guizot, 87: Thiers, 80: Martin, 73: Michelet, 76: Mignet, 88: Michaud, 72: Amédée Thierry, 76: Augustin Thierry, 61: Taine, 65: Sismondi, 69. Average, 75.

German. Giesebrecht, 75: Droysen, 76: Ranke, 90: Sybel, 78: Ewald, 36: Treitschke, 62: Mommsen, 86: Gregorovius, 70. Average, 71.

Italian. Sarpi, 71: Machiavelli, 58: Botta, 71: Villari, 90. Average, 73.

American. Irving, 76: Bancroft, 90: Hildreth, 58: Sparks, 77: Palfrey, 85: Prescott, 63: Motley, 63: Parkman, 70: Fiske, 59: Henry Adams, 80: H. C. Lea, 84: Mahan, 74. Average, 73.

Not including Morley and Bryce here are the names of sixty-one persons whose average age is well over seventy-one. A historian, therefore, can count on outliving by at least a year the proverbial three score years and ten. In fact, however, the average age of men in the community is nearer forty than seventy. A good while ago I was interested to investigate the common assumption that, owing to the speed of modern life the average longevity in the nineteenth century of more or less distinguished persons was decreasing. I took about 550 names of men and women who had achieved distinction in art, literature, public life, warfare, and other categories, and I found that they lived on an average more than sixty-eight years—a result which disproves the allegation that the modern pace is the pace which kills.

Our present list shows that the historian lives four years longer than the average celebrity in other fields. Examining our groups, we find that the French average leads with seventy-five; then the Italian and American with seventy-three; the

English and Germans with seventy-one; the Ancients with sixty-four. Note, however, that the dates assigned for the Ancients are very uncertain—so uncertain that I could not include Suetonius, Diodorus, or Plutarch at all.

Analyzing these figures from a different standpoint we find that three men, Ranke, Villari and Bancroft, reached the great age of ninety and, I may add, they all were writing up to the time of their death. The octogenarians are: Mignet, Guizot, Goldwin Smith, Kinglake, Carlyle, Mommsen, Hallam, Thiers, Henry Adams, and H. C. Lea. Except Ewald, thirty-six, Salust, fifty-two, and Green, forty-six, Caesar and Gibbon, *par nobile fratrum*, are the youngest, dying at fifty-six. But Caesar's death cannot be regarded as an occupational disease, to which historians are subject.

In fact if we examine the causes of the taking off of these sixty-one men we shall discover no special disease which killed the larger part of them. The historian has the privilege enjoyed by his fellow men of being able to die of any ill which happens to strike him.

The considerable number of these historians who were also politicians, or in the larger sense, statesmen, suggests the interesting query, whether writing history is a good preparation for making it, or making history fits one to write. Caesar among the ancients, and Machiavelli and Sarpi among the earlier moderns, are the most striking examples. Guizot was for eight years prime minister of France under Louis Philippe, and Thiers, having served for many years in the cabinet of that monarch, was the first president of the French Republic. In Germany, Mommsen sat in the Reichstag, but Treitschke, the most vehement and influential of German publicists, never held public office, perhaps on account of his deafness. In England, on the contrary, the ties between the historian and the statesman have always been recognized. On our list we find that, besides Clarendon, Mackintosh, and Macaulay, Lecky, Bryce and Morley were members of Parliament, while Stubbs was Bishop of Oxford, and an English Bishop is a very official as well as an ecclesiastical personage. Among our Americans, only Bancroft had a cabinet position. The prejudice which for a long while existed in this country against literary "fellers," included historians also, but recently two writers of history, Theodore Roosevelt

and Woodrow Wilson, have been elected presidents of the United States, so that our horizon has been much widened. Now that the American historian need no longer be depressed by the thought that his occupation renders him ineligible to the highest office in the people's gift, we breathe more freely.

Although historians are a long-lived tribe, often blessed with the power to carry on their work far into old age, many of them have achieved a reputation when they were very young. The most precocious, I think, is James Bryce, who wrote his *Holy Roman Empire* when he was twenty-four; and the book, after nearly sixty years, holds its own in judgment, poise, maturity, and thoroughness. Almost equally remarkable was Lecky who published his *Rationalism in Europe* when he was only twenty-seven. Freeman's first book on *Church Restoration* came out when he was twenty-six. Thiers was also twenty-six when the first volume of his *History of the French Revolution* appeared, and Michelet made his début at twenty-seven. Parkman seems to have been the youngest American to produce history of permanent worth, he being twenty-eight at the publication of his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*.

But most of the lasting works were published after their authors were well on in the thirties. Gibbon was thirty-nine when he issued his first two volumes; Bancroft thirty-four when he published the first volume of his *History of the United States*. Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella* came when he was forty, and Motley's *Dutch Republic* when he was forty-two. Mr. Rhodes was forty-four at the publication of his first volume.

In general it is easy to understand why historians are usually middle-aged before they produce valuable work. A novel or a poem can be spun like a spider's web, from the inside; but a history is the assembling and interpreting of masses of material from the outside. This requires time—time and long and patient study. Interpretation also, demands qualities which rarely develop in the young, qualities which do not reside in the emotions but in the reason. So we concede fiction to the juvenile and are glad to have history the province of the mature.

Money, or the lack of it, has a further influence on the production of history. The historian, though he be a very rare and privileged creature, must live. Accordingly, unless a kindly fate, or a rich father, has provided him with a living, he must

make one. This takes time. Modern historians have usually earned their living, either as professors or as editors. This means that necessarily they must be mature before they have accumulated leisure enough to produce a *magnum opus*. A few men, like William Roscoe, George Grote and Mr. Rhodes, after prospering in business, have devoted themselves to writing history.

To the youth who wishes to join the guild of historians we can give therefore not only a friendly welcome, but the prospect of a long and, we hope, useful life. Our craft does not threaten him with any occupational disease, although it does not render him immune to either dyspepsia or mutinous eyes. The work has many delights and many compensations. He will probably not amass riches, but he will thank his stars for this, because it will prevent him from wasting on palaces and private yachts the talents which he should dedicate to Clio. And he will have mistaken his calling if he fails to discover in history the magic chapters which, by recording how men have lived, furnish a clue to the mystery of Life itself.

THE BOWDOIN LIBRARY.

Mr. TUTTLE showed a manuscript list of books and said:

There is in the Society's collection of Bowdoin and Temple papers a manuscript of bibliographical interest associated with the Siege of Boston. It is a list of nearly four hundred volumes, a part of the library of James Bowdoin, later Governor of the Commonwealth.

On September 13, 1774, Mr. Bowdoin's name was among those listed and published as leaders in the patriot cause. Two days later he requested Samuel Phillips Savage to make an inventory of the goods in his house. Mr. Savage found the Library to contain more than twelve hundred volumes.

In the early spring of 1775, Mr. Bowdoin left Boston and lived for several weeks in Braintree. Abigail Adams, two days before the Battle of Bunker Hill, wrote from Braintree that "Mr. Bowdoin and his lady are at present in the house of Mr. Borland, and are going to Middleboro to the house of Judge Oliver." During this period Mr. Bowdoin's illness prevented him from taking an active part in public affairs. The family

remained for many months in Middleboro, and probably had with them there the larger part of Mr. Bowdoin's Library.

When General Burgoyne reached Boston on May 25, 1775, he took up his abode in the Bowdoin Mansion on Beacon Hill; and it is likely that Bowdoin's brother-in-law, George Erving, one of the loyalist refugees who sailed for Halifax early in 1776, may have had the care of his property here. The list of Bowdoin's books in Burgoyne's possession during his stay in Boston is given below, bearing the statement over Erving's signature at the end.

The two parts of Bowdoin's library later came together, and passed at his death in 1790 by bequest to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences of which he was the founder and first President. An asterisk prefixed to the title indicates that the volume was in the library of the Academy at the time its catalogue was issued in 1802.

1st Alt.

- 1.2 Harris's Collection of Voyages. 2 Vol.
- * 3.8 Churchills Collection of Voy. & Travels. 6 Vol. fol.
- * 9.10 Burnets history of his own time [1724]. 2 Vol.
- 11 Glauber's Works
- * .12 Bales's [Bayle's] Works [5 Vols?]
- 13.14 La Sainte Bible per martin. 2 Vol.
- 15 The Holy Bible
- 16.17 Pooles Annotations on the Bible. 2 Vol.
- * 18.19 Prideaux's Connection. 2 Vol.
- * .20 Historia Sum[m]orum Pontificum
- * .21 Boston Chronicle
- * 22 Julii Clari Opera omnia
- * .23 Johnston's [Johnson's] Works
- * .24 Brady's History of England
- * .25 Agricola de re metallica
- * .26 Massachusetts Laws
- * .27 Connecticut Laws
- * 28 The new Testament with notes — Rhemes 1582
- * 29 Juneval & Persius in usum Delph.
- 30.31 Calvinii Comentarii 2 V.
- 32 Institutio Christianae Rel.
- 33 Robertson's Phraselogia generalis
- * 34 Q. Curtius
- 35 De lingua latina Observationes
- * 36 Justiniani Institutiones
- 37 Erasmi Colloquia

- 38.41 Rabelais's Works. 4 Vol.
- 42 La Sainte Bible
- 43 La Pratique de pieta
- 44 Boyers french & Eng. Dict^y.
- * 45 Whistons astron. Prin. of Rel.
- 46 History of Address
- 47 Two Sermons for 30th Jan^y
- 48 Cott. Mather's life

2^d Alt.

- * 1.2 Franklins Sophocles 2 Vol. 4^{to}
- ? 3.4 Starks [Harte] history of Gustavus Adolphus 2 Vol.
- ? 5.6 Whitbys Parap on New Testament. 2 Vol.
- * 7.8 Droit de la Guerre & de le paix par Grot's. 2 Vol.
- * 9 Virgils Opera in usum delph
- 10.15 Magna Britania. 6 Vol.
- * 16 Daneby [Danet's] Dicto^y of Greek & Rom. Antiquities
- * 17.18 History of Popery
- * 19 Stones conic Sections
- 20 Household Furniture
- 21.22 Calamy's life of Baxter &c
- 23 Baxters Saints rest
- * 24 [Cleirae] Costumes de la mer.
- 25 Dalton's Justice
- 26 Leigh's critica sacra
- * 27 Tull's Husbandry
- 28 Manley's Interpreter of Law Terms
- * 29 Bradys Introduction to Old Eng. History
- * 30 Hederici Lexicon græcum.
- * 31.32 Ainsworths Latin Dictionary
- * 33.40 Hume's History of England. 8 Vol.
- * 41.42 Essays 2 Vol:
- 43 Mounteney's Demosthenes 3 Vol.
- * 44.46 Lelands, Demesthenes 3 Vol.
- * 47.48 Stanyans Grecian History 2 Vol.
- * 49.50 Kaim's Elements of Criticism 2 Vol.
- * 51 M^eLaurin's Algebra
- * 52 Cunn's Euclid
- * 53 Smiths Student Vade mecum
- 54 Vigerius de idiotismis græca Dict^y
- * 55 Ferguson's Astronomy
- * 56 Wards Mathematicks
- 57 Poems
- 58 Letters on Religion &c miscel:
- 59.69[o] Sermons miscel.
- * 61 Coleman's [Colman] life &c miscel.
- 62 Political Tracts miscel.

63 Divinity Tracts mis.

64 Sermons &c. mis.

3^d Alt.

- * 1 London & Country Brewer
- * 2 Bolinbroke to Sir Will^m Windham & Pope
- 3 Letters on History
- * 4 [Burke] Enquirie into the sublime & beautiful
- * 5.10 Echards Roman History 5 Vol.
- *11.12 Vertot's history of the Roman Revolution. 2 V.
- 13 Revolutions of Portugal
- *14.15 Millers Gard[e]ner's Dictionary 3 Vol.
- * 16 Bradley on planting & Gardning
- *17.20 Fosters Sermons. 4 Vol.
- 21.26 Quesnels new Testament 6 Vol.
- 27 Bennetts Sermons
- 28 [blank]
- * 29 Reads [Reid's] enquiry into the human mind
- * 30 Mallets life of Bacon
- * 31 Martins Optics
- * 32 Cramer on Metals
- 33 The Geography of England
- *34.38 La[o]ndon's Magazine 5 Vol.

4th Altr.

- 1.2 The old Whig
- * 3.8 Clare[n]dons History of the Rebellion 6 Vol.
- * 9 Ashley on American Trade
- * 10 Barrier Treaty vindicated
- * 11 De Foes plan of Eng. Commerce
- 12 Freethinking & Groans of Europe
- * 13 Trowell on Husbandry & Gardening
- *14.19 Ellis on Husbandry. 6 Vol.
- *20.23 Modern Husbandman. 4 Vol.
- *24.25 Turner's Art of Surgery. 2 Vol.
- 26 Diseases of the Skin
- 27 Strothers Essay on Sickness & Health
- * 28 Boyle's Experiments on Cold
- * 29 Deserta's [Descartes] Opera Philosophica
- 30.31 Boileau's Works in Eng. 2 Vol.
- 32 Pascals Thoughts on Religion
- * 33 Mayhews Sermons
- 34 The true sentiments of America
- * 35 Wilds practical Surveyor
- * 36 a Letter on Trade
- 37 Clarkes collection Papers which past between Leibnitz & him
- * 38 Clarkes Demonstration of Newtons principles
- * 39 Rays philosophical letters

- * 40 Vertots history of the Bretons
- * 41 Description of Stowe
- * 42 Westons shorthand — a manuscript
- * 43 [Andrew] Eliots Sermons

5th. Alt.

- 1.9 Collection of Old Plays 9 Vol.
- 10.14 Jewish Spy by Sargent 5 v
- 15.22 Turkish Spy 8 v
- 23.26 The Tatler 4 v
- 27.28 Plutarchs Morals 2 v.
- *29.30 Voitures [Voltaire's] Works 2 v
- *31.32 Rowes Lucan 2 v
- 33.34 North Britain [Briton] 2 v.
- 35.38 Lady Montagues Letters 4 Vol
- *39.48 Oeuvres d'Orace [Horace] par Dacier 10 v.

6th Altr.

- * 1 Williams's British Angler
- * 2 Bradleys Country Housewife
- 3 Hills Arithmetic
- * 4 Livii 5 libri priores
- 5 Arrols nepos
- 6 Horatri formata cuningh [Cuningamius.]
- 7 Bath Guide
- 8 Present State of polite Learning in Europe.
- 9 Polite Lady
- 10 Prince of Abisinia
- 11 Woodward's Fair Warning
- * 12 Lord Bacons Essays
- 13 Historia des Colonies Angloisses
- *14.15 Voltaires Age of Lewis XV. 2 Vol
- 16 Du Pouvoir des Souverains D^r Barbeyrac
- *17.19 Discours sur la Gouvernement de Sidney 3 v
- 20 Defence de la nation Britannique
- 21 Les Advantures de Telemaque
- 22 Phædri-Fabula
- 23 Pomfrets Poems
- 24 Cases of Divorce
- * 25 Dean's Essay on the future life of Brutes
- 26 Lensden compendium graecum novi Testam.
- 27 Novum Testament graecum
- 28 Wallebii Compend. Theologia Christiana
- * 29 Rose's sallust with Cicero's 4 Orat: ag.^t Cataline
- 30.31 Smarts Orace
- 32 Ovids Art of Love
- 33 Maps of all the Counties in Eng^d & Wales

- * 34 Bellamy's Sermons
- 35 Hales Tracts
- 36 Beveridges Thots on Religion
- 37 Mori Enchiridion Ethicum
- * 38 Muratoris Relation of the Mission of Paraguay
- 39.41 Miscellaneous Tracts 3 v.
- 42 Dodwell on the Soul
- 43 Salmons Family Dictionary
- * 44 Inquiry into K. Cha^s 1 send^s for Irish Rebels
- 45 West & Littleton on the Res. & conv. of St. Pau
- * 46 Clarkes Justin
- * 47 Sallust
- * 48 Nepos
- * 49 Suetonius

7th Alt.

- * 1 Hamilton's Observations on M^t Vesuvius & Etna
- * 2 Bayleys Eng Dict^y
- 3 Ovidii de tristibus in usum Delph
- 4 St. Augustines meditations
- * 5 Tacquet Elementa Geometriæ
- * 6 Letter to two [great men]
- 7 Tolands Defence of Milton's Life
- * 8 Colmans Sermons
- 9 Life &c
- 10 Poems
- 11 Political Tracts
- 12 Religious Controversy Mis.
- 13 Petronius Arbiter
- 14 Hammonds Review of N. Test
- 15 Gardiners Life & other Tracts
- 16 Poems
- 17 Reepins Comparison of Thucydides & Livy
- * 18 Princes Chronology
- 19, 20 Judicature of the House of Peers 2 v.
- 21 Derhams Artificial Clockmaker
- 22 Common Prayer Book
- 23 Echards Terence
- 24 Compleat Justice
- * 25 Lex Parliamentaria
- 26 Hammond of Schism
- 27 Le Sainte Bible
- 28 Steels Christian Hero
- 29 Blackmores Creation
- 30.35 Shakespears Plays 6 V. not compleat
- 36 Christian Oeconomy
- 37 Burnets life of Earl of Rochester
- 38 Pasquins comical Oration

- 39 Grosvenor on Health
- 40 L'Historia Romaine
- 41 Moliere's Plays, fr. & Eng. 2^d Vol.
- 42 Memoirs de Pompadour 1^{re} Tom
- 43 Croysincede ^{lt} Eglise
- 44 Fieldings Amelia
- * 45 Addisons Works 1 V.
- 46 Swifts D^o 5th V.
- 47 Dodsley's Collect. of Poems 4th V.
- 48 Harrisons Remarks relating to the Deluge
- * 49 Le Clares [Le Clerc's] Compend of Universal History
- 50 Reflections of the Death of Freethinkers
- 51 Fables of the Bees. 2^d Vol.

by M^r Southack

Eliots Sermons

Paradise Lost 2 Vol.

Clarks Homer

Yorrick's Sermons 2 Vol.

Sentimental Journal 2 Vol.

Adventures Telemaque

Herveys Meditations

Shakespear illustrated

Royal Callender

Institutio Greecae Gramaticae

Decin Quum Gevenalis

Tristram Shandi 2 v.

Crispii Sullustii

Hoyleys Accurate Gamester

Collection Plays

Mogul Tales

Drydens Satires

Young Mans Companion

Paraclete sive Enurpta

Novum Jesu Christi Testamentum

Dods reflections on Death

Locks Essay on Human Understanding

New Roman History

Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women

Mair's Art of Bookeeping

Laws Devout Life

Youngs Political Life

Behns Plays

The above is a Catalogue of Books left in the Library of James Bowdoin Esqre in the possession of Major Genl Burgoyne

Boston Sept 9th 1775.

GEO. ERVING.

Endorsed for filing "Catalogue of Part of my Books Sept. 9, 1775."



JONATHAN RUSSELL
FROM A MINIATURE BY DUMONT

Mr. FORD communicated the following journal, from the original MS. in the possession of Miss Mary Rivers, a granddaughter of the writer. She very courteously gave permission to print, and aided in preparing the notes. Mr. Russell's writing is at times not clear, and it is only too evident that some of the names are incorrectly printed; but it has been found impossible to confirm every reference.

JOURNAL OF JONATHAN RUSSELL, 1818-1819.

OCTOBER 22, 1818. Having made all our arrangements and despatched our förbud at seven o'clock last evening, we, this morning, left Stockholm between seven and eight o'clock. As I was getting into the carriage a servant delivered me a package containing a note from His Excellency Count D'Engeström, the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs,¹ and several letters from him recommending us to the attention of the Swedish agents and ministers at Stralsund, Berlin, Dresden, Vienna and Italy.

We reached Fittja, the first stage, one and one-half miles from Stockholm without discovering any accident; but we had not proceeded far from that place before we found the principal iron of the left forespring to be broken. This injury I believed to have taken place between Stockholm and Fittja and to have been occasioned by our driver, an Englishman named William Williams Phipps, having taken with him on the dicky a heavy peasant. We were detained in the middle of the road about an hour in woolding the spring, with a piece of tarred rope, with which we were fortunately provided, and supporting it with a stanchion of wood. In this manner we proceeded to the second stage Södertelje,² a distance of two Swedish miles from Fittja. This Södertelje is a paltry village although considered as a town from which extra-post money is exacted. Notwithstanding our detention on the road which occasioned our arrival at Södertelje later than the time at which the horses had been ordered by the förbud, we were obliged to wait for them there nearly an hour, which made our arrival at Pilkrog, the next stage of a mile and half, more than an hour later than the time we had assigned. It is the regulation in Sweden that the traveller, if he causes the horses which he has ordered by his förbud to wait more than an hour, shall pay an extra sum. I was in consequence

¹ Laurent, Comte d'Engeström (1751-1826) practically passed his life in the service of his country, entering the Royal Chancery in 1770. He became president of the Chancery May 16, 1809, and retired in 1824.

² On Lake Mälär, now a summer resort.

obliged to pay about half a dollar banco at Pilkrog as well as Äby and Süardsbro the two next stages at which we also arrived too late. From Pilkrog to Äby and from Äby to Süardsbro is, each, two miles. We arrived at Nyköping about seven o'clock in the evening which, at this season of the year, is more than an hour into the night. The last stage from Süardsbro to Nyköping is two and one-half miles. We did not go to the post-house or tavern but to a private house where we were comfortable, but had to pay for the rooms and the eating separately.

On the 23d we breakfasted and left Nyköping at eight A. M. We had not proceeded more than one Swedish mile before both the irons which support the dicky on the springs broke short. We were detained an hour in arranging the dicky with lashings and by a stake passed under it and resting on its steps. In this way we passed the several stages, Jäder, Wreta, Krokek, Äby to Norrköping. From Nyköping to Jäder is one and three-fourths miles, from Jäder to Wreta one and one-eighth, from Wreta to Krokek one and one-fourth, from Krokek to Äby one and one-half and from Äby to Norrköping three-fourths. We found that we had all taken severe colds since leaving Stockholm and the child was quite ill. We decided to repair the iron work which had given way and immediately on arriving at Norrköping we sent for a smith who immediately proceeded in the business. We found good quarters at Norrköping in a private house and passed the night comfortably.

24. We were detained at Norrköping until half past two o'clock P. M. by the smith who could not complete his work until that time. We then resumed our journey and passing Brink to Kumla reached Linköping at six o'clock without accident. We had taken our two portmanteau trunks from the carriage and sent them on with an extra horse by the förbud. From Norrköping to Brink is one and one-fourth miles, and from Kumla to Linköping is one and five-eighths. At Linköping we found at a private house very good quarters for the night.

25. Left Linköping at eight o'clock A. M., proceeded to Bankeberg one mile, thence to Mjölby one and seven-eighths miles, thence to Dala three-fourths of a mile, and thence to Hested one and one-fourth miles without accident. On arriving at this last place we were surprised to find there our förbud who had been detained by the postmaster for three hours. The postmaster was gone to church, but William flogged the Holcar and denounced in the post-book, called the dag-bog, the misconduct of the master. We then proceeded to Sätthälla two miles and after waiting there one and one-half hours for horses, we proceeded to Berga one and three-fourths miles, where we suffered a like detention when we went to Eksjö

one and three-fourths miles where we did not arrive until nine o'clock. We passed this night very indifferently at the post-house. Marcus, our förbud, did not get there until midnight.

26. We left Eksjö at eight o'clock and went on without accident one and one-half miles to Bränsmala, thence one and three-eighths to Hvetlanda, thence two miles to Stockatorp, and thence one and one-half miles to Nybbeled. Soon after leaving this last place the horses in going down a hill left the road towards a house situated at the right below, and in spite of the driver and perhaps, at last, of themselves, ran against a fence which stretched from the house to the road, beat down a length of it, over which three of the horses passed, but the fourth having fallen, the driver exerting all his strength, the fore wheels of the carriage fortunately brought us up against the prostrated fence and saved us from being turned over which would have been inevitable had we gone ten feet farther. Luckily no other injury was done than the destruction of a length of fence, and by taking off the horses and running the carriage back by hand we were enabled to put it again in the right track and proceeded to Ashult which is one mile from Nybbeled. Here we found the förbud, who from the late hour at which he had arrived the night before at Eksjö, from the darkness and the hills, had been able to get no further. We waited at Ashult two hours for horses and thence proceeded one and one-half miles to Åreda, where we were again detained more than two hours before we could obtain horses to go on to Wexjö which is one and one-half miles from Åreda. It was eleven o'clock before we arrived at Wexjö and had to remain in the street nearly an hour before we could find lodgings and then had to put up with very dirty apartments at the post-house. It was one o'clock in the morning before we could get anything to eat and retire to bed. The gatekeeper of the town had besides stopt (stopped) our baggage on entering the town and we were obliged to send the driver after it who, from his own account, rescued it by force.

27. As we had suffered so much the day before, and as the child appeared fatigued and ill, we resolved to pass this day at Wexjö and restore our forces. After breakfast, therefore, we sought more comfortable apartments and removed to the house of the Landhamered — the Herr Läng, where we found ourselves much at our ease. We despatched the förbud at three o'clock.

28. We breakfasted and left Wexjö at seven A. M. and proceeded to Nybled one and one-fourth miles, thence to Gotäsa one and one-half, thence to Dio two and one-fourth, thence to Elmhult one, thence to Marklunda, two, thence to Broby one and three-fourths, thence to Bjärlof one and one-half and thence to Christian-

stad one and one-eighth. We had left the province of Smoland and travelled this day in Scania. Christianstad is still a fortified town, although by no means so strong as formerly, as its strength has been materially impaired by the river Helge which formerly filled its trenches, having about twenty years since found another channel and left the trenches of Christianstad dry. At Christianstad we lived pretty comfortably at the house of a glove-maker.

29. Left Christianstad at nine o'clock. Went to Lyngsjö one and one-fourth miles, thence to Degeberga one, thence to Brösarp one and one-half, thence to Tranås one and one-half, thence to Herrestad one and three-fourths, and thence to Ystad five-eighths. We arrived at this last town about sunset, and there, much to our satisfaction, terminated our travelling in Sweden.¹ We had found the roads generally very good from Stockholm and in better order than could have been expected from the lateness of the season. In passing through Sweden there are many fine natural landscapes, but very little cultivation to delight the traveller. Evergreens, rocks, hills and lakes are the only charms. From Linköping to Wexjö the country is very dreary. Besides the accidents already enumerated we left at Wexjö the footman's straps of our carriage, and at Christianstad a night-shirt, and Marcus our förbud had been pitched over once and twice turned over, and the last time nearly demolished his wagon. In short we had a most fatiguing and unpleasant journey. On arriving at Ystad the commandant immediately waited on us and informed us that in consequence of the orders which he had received there was a packet to take us to Stralsund whenever we might be disposed to proceed thither. He also gave directions at the inn where we stopt for our accommodation. He also delivered to me a letter from Count D'Engeström.

30. We sent our carriage and trunks on board the packet this morning and the commandant sent a person to pass them at the post-house and to attend to the weighing of the trunks which were found to weigh twenty-five stone and eleven stone, and for weighing which I paid thirty-two shillings banco. In the afternoon paid and discharged William, wrote Count D'Engeström, Professor Afzelius and D. Erskine & Co. The wind being ahead for Stralsund we would not embark.

31. The wind still ahead we remained at Ystad. The child hoarse with a cold and Mrs. R[ussell] much alarmed lest it might prove to be the croup, had two physicians, &c.

November 1. A gale during the night from W. S. W. which still

¹ It is possible to follow the route taken by Mr. Russell station by station on the *Generalstabens Karta öfver Sverige*, the road being plainly marked.

continues and will prevent our embarking to-day. The two physicians again called but the child is much better. A Mr. Ström, a trader here who speaks English, has been very attentive to us at the request of the commandant and rendered us many little services.

2. The wind still unfavorable but the weather more moderate.

It is necessary for every traveller in Sweden to furnish himself with a set of travelling harness fitted to the little horses of the country and as such harness is useless elsewhere it is well to dispose of it on leaving the country. In no country, however, is there so little hospitality, I will not say generosity or kindness, for strangers, as in Sweden.¹ Every foreigner is there considered a lawful object of plunder and he may more safely rely on the liberality of a deal or down wrecker in a storm on a lee shore than on the compassion or justice of a Swede. That piratical spirit which distinguished the Scandinavians in former times, appears still to animate their descendants. Hence even in relation to the most trifling transaction the stranger is sure to be robbed. These observations have been suggested by the treatment I experienced in attempting to dispose of my Swedish travelling harness for four horses. On arriving ten months since at Helsingborg I purchased it for fifty banco dollars. It has been only to Stockholm and thence to this place and is very little injured by use, yet I have not been able to get anything whatever for it here. I had another striking instance of this spirit at Stockholm. I had travelled thither in a French dormeuse completely furnished with two backs on the top, a trunk behind, a cave at the bottom, a net over head, &c., and which had been valued at five hundred dollars banco, yet when I offered it for sale the highest offer made for it was sixty-six dollars of this money. When I had to pay for a trunk only for my barouche sixty dollars.

3. We had entertained yesterday some hopes of a change of wind as the weather had considerably moderated but the wind rose again in the night and we found a strong gale this morning from the westward and a thick atmosphere. There is therefore no prospect of embarking to-day. About midnight we were awakened by a tremendous uproar in our inn which at first caused some alarm but we soon perceived that it was nothing more than the obstreperous conviviality of a supper party in the house. We learned this morning that we were indebted for this disturbance to a Mr. Känsléd, a corn trader from Stockholm, who was repaying in this way, and at once, all the hospitality he had received successively from the good

¹ Compare the opinion of John Quincy Adams in 1783: "Sweden is the country in Europe which pleases me the most, that is, of those I have seen; because their manners resemble more those of my own country than any I have seen." *Writings of John Quincy Adams* (Ford), I. 8.

people with whom he had transacted his affairs at Ystad. If noise and intemperance had a value in the estimation of these people, they must have not only acknowledged payment in full from Mr. Känsléd but carried a balance to his credit in a new account.

The mode of travelling in Sweden is peculiar. There are post-houses indeed established throughout the country at certain distances from each other, varying from half a Swedish mile to two miles and a half, but there are no horses regularly at these houses, either on account of individuals, as in England, or on account of government, as in France and elsewhere. The peasants of the surrounding country are obliged to bring to the post-house every evening at six o'clock a certain number of horses proportioned to the ordinary demand for horses by travellers at each station. If these horses are more than are called for during the next twenty-four hours, for those unused the peasant receives nothing, and as he remains at the station with his horse the time of both is consequently lost. If all the horses regularly ordered for the station be insufficient for the travellers of the day, the post-master will generally order others for the special use of those who require them. I say generally, but the post-master at Farlun refused in August last to order any extra horses for my service and I was, on that account, obliged to prolong my residence at that place another day. So little dependence is placed by travellers on the horses ordinarily ordered by the post-master that they always, if they wish to get on without detention, send off a förbud or an avant-courier whose business it is to order horses at each station at the time assigned by his principal. For this purpose he is furnished with a förbud seddel, or avant-courier's bill, which answers for his pass and for an authority to the postmaster to furnish the number of horses at the time required.

The Swedish mile is about six and two-thirds English and the traveller in making up his förbudseddel, generally allows an hour and a quarter for each mile, including the time necessary for changing the horses. Sometimes the traveller sends on his own servant as förbud with his baggage, but frequently he trusts entirely to the peasant who always accompanies his own horse. I have tried both ways and I have found that the luggage is generally taken better care of by a servant and more diligence and speed secured than by a peasant. At every station the trunks are shifted from one cart to another and sometimes with violence by the peasants. To prevent this evil I now, in coming from Stockholm to Ystad, procured a wagon for the whole way and sent my servant, Marcus, as förbud. But although he travelled night and day and we in the daytime only, we overtook him several days before he had arrived at the last station.

Without a förbud the traveller may calculate on being detained at each station, on an average, two hours for horses.

The horses though very small and very quick are remarkably surefooted, and I do not remember having seen one of them stumble, much less fall, by a misstep. The rate of posting in Sweden is low, and of course the establishment oppressive to the peasantry. From ordinary stations in the country the price for each horse per mile is twelve shillings banco which, at the present exchange, is equal to twelve cents American currency. From Stockholm for each horse per mile is, say, thirty-two shillings banco, from one or two other towns twenty-four shillings banco, and from all other towns, called cities, sixteen shillings banco. The average for a horse per mile is therefore a little more than fourteen shillings banco or rather more than two and one-fourth cents for an English mile. In England, the dearest country in Europe for posting, the usual price is one shilling six pence sterling for two horses, and in 1812 I frequently paid two shillings to two shillings three pence, which is from seventeen to twenty-five cents a horse nearly; or from seven to eleven fold more than in Sweden. In Sweden, however, the traveller must find his own carriage and harness unless he would ride in a little cart of about two feet wide and five long. He must also have six horses, in Sweden, including his förbud with his luggage, where four in England, and perhaps two, would be sufficient, and he must pay about two cents per mile for the care of the förbud. Besides, two peasants, generally, mount behind the carriage to conduct back their horses, which is a great nuisance. Add to all this a driver who must be hired for the whole way at an extra expense. I paid for the one who drove me from Stockholm to this place twenty dollars banco exclusive of his living on the road.

The account then will stand thus — for

6 horses 62½ miles	110
cart.	2½
extra waggon	5
harness for four horses	35½
driver and feeding	80
	<hr/>

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Two hundred and thirty-three dollars banco for sixty-two and one-half Swedish miles for six horses is about thirty-one cents a horse for such a mile, or less than five cents per horse for an English mile, which, on an average, is only about a fourth of what a horse costs in England for the same distance, and would not be one-half, if every allowance be made for the difference of the number of horses

required in these countries respectively. It will be observed that the greatest part of the expense in travelling in Sweden is not for the benefit of the peasant who furnishes the horses. From a country station he goes, on an average, one and a half Swedish miles, with a horse, for eighteen cents and, whether in the night or not, it may be considered as a day lost for both. This establishment so injurious to agriculture, is persevered in for the accommodation of the aristocracy who generally spend the winter at the capital and the summer at their country seats, and have no other mode than the posting in question for the transportation of themselves and families.

Our detention at Ystad is the more unpleasant as it is a little dirty place, containing about two thousand inhabitants and not a single object, ancient or modern, worth the attention of the traveller. Besides, the inn, like most Swedish inns, is dirty and uncomfortable.

4. This morning is quite calm which inspires a hope that we may be able to embark this evening, for it is in the evening that the packets leave Ystad for Stralsund. The reason of this arrangement is the conveniency, after passing the open sea during the night, to be able to make the Island of Rügen, which is about twelve Swedish miles distant, early in the morning, and to have the whole day to run through the narrow and shoal waters which lie between that island and the main up to Stralsund. Paid this morning the two physicians of Ystad 5 dollars banco each. I passed last evening and this morning in reading a treatise of Abbé Raynal on the revolution of America and published while the war continued between the colonies and the mother country. I was equally surprised by his correct knowledge of the facts and principles on which that revolution was founded, and by his ignorance of its consequences. While he appeared fully to understand and to approve the conduct of the Americans, he had adopted so unfavorable an opinion of their soil, climate and resources as boldly to predict that their population could never exceed ten millions, and even to arrive at this number they would be obliged to consume all their produce, leaving nothing for exportation and limiting themselves to a frugal subsistence. How astonished would that good man now be could he now behold us in less than forty years from the time [he] wrote, individually and personally richer than most of the nations of Europe, and with a population already pressing hard on the limit which [he] assigned to us, and still augmenting in a ratio unparalleled in ancient and modern times, without exhausting or even keeping pace with our means of subsistence, as the surplus of our produce continually increases the amount of our exportation.

The boldness of the beggars at Ystad is beyond what I have

ever witnessed elsewhere. They are not contented with accosting a stranger in the street, besieging the door and waiting in the passage, but unceremoniously enter his apartments.

The captain of the packet came at five o'clock P. M. to announce his intention of sailing at six in the evening and we made our arrangements accordingly. At half past five he called again to tell us that the wind had drawn ahead and that he should not go.

5. We were again summoned on board at half past three P. M. and went accordingly, but the wind continuing unfair and blowing very fresh, the captain declined sailing. Wishing however, to avoid the trouble of moving back and forth from the inn to the vessel and from the vessel to the inn, we determined to remain on board.

6. We still continued on board this day and about four P. M. the captain having warped his vessel out, got under sail. The wind was still fresh and so unfair that we could not keep within two points of our course. The beginning of the night was very rough and we were all, including the infant, very seasick. A little after midnight, having got under the lea of Rügen and Pomerania, it became smoother and we slept more quietly.

7. Went on deck early and saw Rügen and the coast of Pomerania and Rügen, but these at a considerable distance, and the wind being still unfavorable we beat all day and was not fairly up with the north end of Rügen until sunset. The wind moderated very much and we quietly plied up the bay during the night, without making much progress.

8. Found ourselves in the morning passed the island of Rügen and in the shoal and narrow waters. It is only small vessels bound to or from Stralsund that navigate inside of the Island of Rügen in these waters. There was on board our packet a graduated pole for sounding, and in one place we passed, we found only six and one-fourth [feet] of water, while our vessel drew 6 feet, so there was only one-fourth of a foot to spare. Although there is no tide in the Baltic, the depth of water in firths and bays varies much and there are often considerable currents, all of which depend on the character and strength of the winds. In the passage of which I am now speaking there are sometimes ten and sometimes not four feet of water, and the current sometimes out and sometimes in. We found it against us. The captain landed at [a] point about seven English miles from Stralsund with the mail about nine o'clock, and we were all day plying with light airs of wind or warping in a calm towards Stralsund. We found the channel very crooked and sometimes very narrow, but marked with stakes in its whole course. At length we anchored close off the pier at Stralsund at nine o'clock in the evening.

9. To avoid the *désagrément* of going ashore in the night and

looking for an inn we had remained on board. We found the vessel fast to the pier this morning and we went on shore about eight o'clock. We stopt at the Hotel of the Golden Eagle. Mr. Lunblad, the Swedish agent for the port at Stralsund, to whom Count D'Engeström had given me a letter, we found to be absent; but his locum-tenens was very civil and rendered us all the services of which we stood in need. We spent the day in making our arrangements for getting on. We discharged our waiting-maid, Christiana, as we found her not only to be useless, being lazy and impertinent, but extravagant, forward with male society, and of equivocal integrity. We paid her in full up to the end of this month, and for her passport I gave her fifty dollars banco extra to take her back to Stockholm. There is much history belonging to Stralsund but little there now worth seeing. The town-house is a fine old Gothic building.

10. We breakfasted and left Stralsund at ten o'clock. We passed a poor country and very bad road to Loitz, a distance of five German miles. At Loitz we passed the night in rather an indifferent inn and very small rooms. Ida's birthday.

11. We breakfasted and left Loitz at seven thirty A. M., changed at Treptow at three thirty, a distance of [] and reached Neubrandenburg, Mecklenburg, at six o'clock, where we found a very good inn and passed the night. The roads were better this day than yesterday and the country better cultivated. We had travelled in all this day [] miles of German.

12. Left Neubrandenburg at seven thirty, after breakfast, changed at Strelitz at one thirty P. M., at Fürstenberg at four and reached Gransee at seven. It was a clear moonshine and very cold. We found a spacious inn at Gransee and everything in abundance but in a worse style. We had travelled this day [] German miles. The last stage they gave us six horses making us pay for five. We have been obliged to take five at Stralsund and to pay for that number the whole way. With the six horses we had two postilions and both required drink-money but I paid only *one*.

13. We breakfasted and left Gransee at seven thirty — changed at Oranienburg at one — four miles — saw here a large château turned into a manufactory — sandy road — changed at Sandberg at four o'clock, [] miles, reached Berlin at six o'clock and stopped at the Hotel de Russie under the Lindens. About the last mile of the road was turn-piked, but the country barren.

14. Called on my Bankers Frères Bonche; on the French Minister, Marquis de Bonnay;¹ on the Swedish Minister, Baron de

¹ François, Marquis de Bonnay (1750-1825).

Taube; on the Portuguese Minister, Baron Lobo;¹ on [the] Russian chargé d'affairs, Mons. Craftz.² The Marquis de Bonnay called in the evening with his lady. The remainder of the evening spent in reading.

15. Baron Taube sent his cards with ours to various persons. Called on Count Lobo, the Portuguese Minister, and was very cordially received. Calls from Baron Taube, []. Spent the evening with Mrs. and Miss Russell at the Marquis of Bonnay's. Saw there the old Countess Gallitzin, who at the age of eighty-six retained her gaiety and made her party at Boston regularly every evening. She inquired particularly after J. Q. A. and said she had been well acquainted with him. Saw there also the ladies of the Austrian and Russian Ministers and Mr. Rose,³ the English Minister, who was particularly polite.

16. (Monday). Went in the morning to Charlottenburg and saw there the superb mausoleum of the late queen⁴ executed by Rauch,⁵ who had formerly been her page. Dined at Count Lobo's and passed the evening at a ball at the English Minister's.

17. Went in the morning to visit the great palace built by the great Duke of Brandenburg⁶ — the apartments quite magnificent, but the furniture rather decayed. Some fine pictures in the great gallery, in the centre of which in the most conspicuous exposition, is an equestrian picture of Bonaparte passing the Mount St. Gothard. Had to pay a Frederick d'or. We also saw a very curious clock which had been plundered at Paris.

18. Baron de Taube called on us this morning to accompany us to the manufactory of porcelain. The overseer attended us through all the different apartments and caused the various workmen to exhibit their skill, from the kneading the paste to the last polish of the gilding. Showed us also a superb service intended for the Duke of Wellington, descriptive of the various battles in which he had been distinguished. Dined with Mr. Rose, the English Minister, and then, as the Baron de Taube had presented us with tickets, we went to the opera. The music very good, the dancing very indifferent, the overture very fine. Music by Gluck — piece "Alceste."

19. At nine o'clock received a note from Sir William Ingilby saying that the Prince Marshall Blücher⁷ would receive. We did

¹ Comte Lobo de Sylveira.

² M. d'Alopéus was the Ambassador.

³ Sir George Henry Rose (1771-1855). *Dict. Nat. Biography*, XLIX. 231.

⁴ Louisa of Prussia (1776-1810).

⁵ Christian Daniel Rauch (1777-1857).

⁶ Frederick William (1620-1688).

⁷ Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher (1742-1819).

not fail to go at the hour appointed. The old Marshall received us with great courtesy and took me by the hand, ordered the servant to bring a portrait of Washington which had been presented to him by Sheridan.¹ Presented to us his daughter-in-law, a very pretty woman, who took us into a large saloon, round which were hung the portraits of all the sisters of Napoleon,² painted by David and which the old Marshall had plundered at Paris. In learning that I came from Stockholm, he very frankly declared that he had not been satisfied with the conduct of Bernadotte, either at Leipsic or afterwards. Said the battle of Leipsic had been fought by his advice in opposition to that of Bernadotte, who was not for fighting. Dined with the Baron de Taube, with several foreign ministers, and the Prussian Ministers of Interior and Finance, and several distinguished Prussian Generals, among whom was Gneisenau,³ the real hero of Prussia. Spent the evening at Lobo's with a very large party. Had a great deal of conversation with Rose, who spoke very unfavorably of the situation of Prussia. The spirit and the number of the advocates of revolution are increasing and becoming formidable to the existing order of things. These revolutionists distinguished themselves by wearing their hair straight, in imitation of the ancient Germans. They generally parade the streets with canes, sometimes with swords, and duels are frequent. The British government are urging claims on that of Prussia for seizures of English merchandise at Königsberg and elsewhere, under the continental system, but contrary, as it is said, to an understanding between the two governments. Mr. Rose mentioned the instance of a Jew who was agent of some of the British merchants, and pretended that the goods entrusted to him had been burned under that system, when it had been proved that this person had sent to the bonfire packages made up to resemble the real ones, but containing nothing of value, and had kept the true merchandise and converted it to his own use. Mr. Rose also mentioned a disgraceful speculation of the Swedish government. Prussia refused to pay for Pomerania except Sweden would pay that part of the Saxon debt which belonged to the Saxon territory ceded in 1814. Much negotiation took place and General Capps, the aid-de-camp of Bernadotte and a Jew named Dehn, finally agreed to pay fifty-five per cent of that debt instead of one-third. The publication of this agreement was

¹ Thomas Sheridan (1775-1817), son of Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

² Marie-Anne-Elisa Bonaparte (1777-1820), married Captain Félix Bacciochi; Marie-Pauline Bonaparte (1780-1825), married (1) General Leclerc and (2) Camillo Borghese; Caroline-Marie-Annonciade Bonaparte (1782-1839), married Joachim Murat.

³ August Neidhardt, Comte de Gneisenau (1760-1831).

not to be made public for seven or eight days, in which period the Jew went into the market and purchased the whole debt at thirty per cent, and it is supposed on joint account of Bernadotte & Co. It seems also that this Jew and Bernadotte have been interested in another common concern and that the Countess of Pappenheim, the daughter of Prince Hardenberg,¹ has been the mistress of them both. Rose says that the population of all the Prussian domains does not exceed ten millions, the whole at present military.

20. Engaged in the morning in packing. Received a visit from Taube and Rose. The latter brought me a letter of introduction to the first Equerry of the King at Potsdam. At two o'clock P. M. we left Berlin. We were allowed to take four horses only. The distance from Berlin to Potsdam is four miles, the postage for the whole of which is paid at Berlin before the traveller departs, although he changes horses half way at Zehlendorf. We reached Potsdam at five thirty and stopt at the Hotel de Prussie, a very indifferent inn. We were followed from the gate of the city by a soldier who was joined at the inn by a custom-house officer. The latter objected to our taking our luggage into the house before he had examined it. To this I did not submit, and as he could speak neither French or English, nor I German, a very amusing scene took place between us, which was only terminated by the arrival of a valet de place, who, having explained who I was, the man of the customs appeared satisfied that I was not a smuggler and tranquilly retired.

21. I delivered this morning my letter from Mr. Rose to the first Equerry, or rather I left it with his servant as he was not at home. About ten o'clock we went in a *voiture de remise* to Sans Souci and visited first the gallery of paintings which, although not very large, contains a very choice collection. The head of Christ painted on gold, by Raphael, is unequalled. We next visited the old palace of Sans Souci. In passing to which, from the gallery, we saw the tombs where thirteen of the dogs of the great Frederick were interred by him. The old palace of Sans Souci is not large, but as it was the favorite residence of the great Frederick during the summer, it is very interesting, particularly as the same furniture remains unchanged and they show the tables on which he wrote, still stained with his ink. The room which Voltaire occupied also remains as he left it. The view from the front of the palace is very delightful. We next went to the new palace of Sans Souci. It is a very spacious building and has very handsome out-houses for the domestics, on the opposite side of the court. The chief material of all is brick. We contented ourselves with an outside view of this

¹ Karl August von Hardenberg (1750-1822).

palace; as the least sight of the interior would have cost us three or four Prussian dollars or two or three Spanish dollars. The exactions from strangers in this country for the exhibitions of its works of art are exorbitant and inhospitable. We returned to Potsdam and went to the church to see the tomb of the great Frederick. It is very simple and the coffin which contains his remains is plain and of bronze. It is placed by the side of a marble coffin which encloses the mortal part of his father. From the palace we went to the palace of Potsdam. There has been no change of the furniture of the apartments which the great Frederick occupied. The table on which he signed his orders after dinner is still covered with the dripping of the wax candles, and the satin covering of a sofa still retains the impression of the greasy plates in which he fed his dogs. It was evident from all we saw that he must have been a great sloven as well as a great man. There was a small room in which he dined with his confidants, and in order to exclude the servants he had a table contrived so as to dispense with their attendance. This table was round and an interior circle of it lowered to the apartment below by machinery, on which was sent away the dirty dishes and on which was raised whatever might be wanting to replace them. The outward periphery of the table of about a foot wide, on the top, remained stationary. In the evening the first Equerry, for whom I had left the letter in the morning, made us a visit. We found him very affable and entertaining. He remembered well the great Frederick, said that he had often seen him review his troops and that there was something so commanding in his regard that whenever he turned his eye the populace shrunk back with awe and left the space clear. He appeared to regret the change which had taken place during the last twenty years in the manners of the inhabitants of Berlin. He said that the wealth of the capital had, during that period passed from the nobility to Jews and merchants, and that, excepting among the foreign ministers, there was little society and no hospitality at Berlin. The ladies had become more severe in their manners, but infinitely less amiable. Indeed Rose has told me that twenty years since, in a society of thirty ladies, it would have been difficult to have found one that had not some intrigue to boast of, and that now it was as difficult among the same number to find a gallant woman.

22. Left Potsdam, after breakfast, at half past seven. Changed horses at Beelitz, two and three-fourths miles, at ten fifteen, at Treuenbrietzen, two and one-fourth miles at one thirty. Here the chaussée ended. And reached Jüterbog at four o'clock, being two miles bad road. The inn we stopt at was clean and cheap but very indifferent.

23. Left Jüterbog at seven thirty. Changed horses at Annaburg, three and one-half miles, at one o'clock, and reached Cossdorf at seven thirty, likewise three and one-half miles. The last two hours were very dark and the road most infamous. Indeed, a German traveller has observed that the roads, which we had passed this day, had not been repaired since the creation of the world. They are certainly the mere trails which the carriages have ploughed through the sands, one trail being left where the sand had become too deep, for another, and we often turned, at some hazard, from them all to seek through the adjacent fields a firmer soil. The inn at Cossdorf was the post-house and a wretched inn it was. There was no covering to the beds but beds, and no meat of any kind. We supped as well as we could on coffee, bread, butter and an omelette.

24. Left Cossdorf at seven fifteen after having breakfasted on bread, butter and coffee, for we could not this morning procure even an omelette. The road continued very bad until we reached Grossenhain, a distance of three German miles. After being detained an hour for horses, we left Grossenhain at one o'clock and reached Dresden, four miles turnpiked, at five o'clock [P. M.] At Dresden we stopt at the Hotel de Vienna, where we found comfortable apartments and a good supper. After we had left Cossdorf, this morning about three hours, Amelia found that her three rings were not on her finger. She had taken them off to wash her hands and had left them at the inn! Found at the Hotel de Vienna Mr. Prandell, a Russian Colonel whom I had known at Paris, and who was so delighted to hear I was under the same roof with him that he made me leave my bed to give him an interview.

25. Procured a *voiture de remise* and went about eleven o'clock to deliver my letters to the Baron de Bildt, the Swedish envoy; Latour-Maubourg¹ and the Marquis de Pombal,² the French and Austrian Ministers, and to my bankers Messrs. Bessenge & Co. Was very politely received by them all. Found, however, the Swedish envoy in his bed with the gout in his stomach and quite unable to render me any service; he insisted, however, in making me known to a celebrated Savan, Mr. Böttiger.³ In the evening I went with the ladies to the opera to see *L'engano felice*, in Italian.

¹ Just-Pons-Florimond de Fay, Marquis de Latour-Maubourg (1781-1837), grandson of the Marquis de Lafayette.

² The *Almanach de Gotha*, 1818, gives Comte de Dillon as the French ambassador and Comte de Bombelles as the Austrian minister at the court of Saxony. It was Louis-Philippe, Comte de Bombelles (1780-1843).

³ Karl August Böttiger (1760-1835), inspector of the Museum of Antiquities.

The whole royal family of Saxony were present.¹ We found the music good, the acting and singing very indifferent. A boy, apparently not more than thirteen years old, performed remarkably well on the French horn.

26. This morning we went to see the Royal Gallery of pictures, said to contain twelve thousand. It is very rich in works of great masters, particularly early Italian. The "Night" of Correggio, the "Ascension" of Raphael, and a "Venus" by Titian, held conspicuous places. There were many by Raphael Mengs, the great Saxon painter. After our return we had a call from the French and Austrian Ministers. We spent the evening at the house of the former. We met there the Prussian Minister² and the English Minister Morier,³ his wife and brother,⁴ who is an officer in the navy; also the celebrated Frederick North, now Lord Guilford.⁵

27. Went this morning to see the Royal treasure, or Das Grüne Gewölbe. We met at the door Lord Guilford, who had just seen it. We found in the treasure, which had been collected by the old electors, chiefly by Augustus the First and Second,⁶ many rich and rare curiosities in ivory, marble, mosaic, silver, brass, bronze, gold, precious stones and pearls. In some of the last of uncommon size there were many whimsical figures. There was an immense onyx, said to be the largest ever found, a brilliant of the weight of one hundred and twenty-three grains and a diamond of great lustre but of a bluish colour, of one hundred and sixty grains and which is unique of its kind. There was also a present of very curious workmanship from the Grand Mogul.

Mr. Böttiger had called on us this morning and made an arrangement to receive us at noon at the Japanese palace, but leaving the Royal treasure we found our coachman so drunk that we were obliged to proceed on foot and arrived too late. We then spent the rest of the morning in shopping. We passed the evening at Latour-Maubourg's and found his lady handsome and agreeable. Latour is a true constitutionalist. Saw also an interesting Frenchman, the Count de S[olano].⁷

28. We visited this morning the Japanese palace. We first saw

¹ Frederick Augustus III (1750-1827) was the king of Saxony.

² Baron d'Oelsen.

³ John Philip Morier (1776-1853). He married Horatia Maria Frances, eldest daughter of Lord Hugh Seymour.

⁴ William Morier (1790-1864).

⁵ Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford (1766-1827).

⁶ (1670-1733) and (1696-1763), known as Augustus II and III, kings of the Poles.

⁷ This may have been the Portuguese physician and diplomat, Francisco-Constancio Solano (1777-1846).

the rooms, eighteen in number, containing the collection of porcelain, the greatest from China and Japan, fanciful specimens of the Saxon porcelain from the manufacture of Meissen,¹ about five English miles from Dresden, vases, dinner and breakfast services, statues, birds, beasts, etc., all the known antiques in biscuit. The next room we saw was the Salon de Plumes, the hangings and the covering of the State bed of Augustus the Second, being beautifully wrought with feathers. We next went into the halls containing the statues, which are very spacious. The statues generally had been very much mutilated and clumsily repaired by modern artists. There were, however, three choice statues, nearly entire. They were the first that were found on sinking a well at Herculaneum, afterwards purchased by the famous Prince Eugène, and for some time decorated the halls of his palace at Vienna and thence found their way to Dresden. The Royal Library is in the Japanese palace, and contains more than 300,000 volumes and 3,000 manuscripts. After leaving the Japanese palace I took a walk on the Prater and enjoyed the fine view of the environs of Dresden. At four o'clock we all went to dine with the Austrian Minister; met there Count Molière, etc. At half past six we returned to our inn and soon after had a visit from the celebrated Savan Böttiger. He stayed with us about an hour and a half and was very amusing. He told us of the publication at Leipsic, called "America painted by herself,"² and which is made up of impartial extracts from the newspapers, pamphlets, etc., of the United States, and has an extensive influence on the opinion of Germany. It is evident that the Saxons regret the downfall of Bonaparte not only on account of their consequent loss of territory, but even for the termination of the continental system which was very favorable to their manufactures, which now are very much injured by those of Great Britain. There is an increasing and already a very general dislike of the English in Germany, particularly in Saxony. Mr. B[öttiger] said the eyes of all were turned to the United States as the only power which could one day counteract the commercial policy of that monopolizing people. He expressed an unqualified wish for the emancipation of South America, and assured me that this sentiment was very general in Germany. He hoped that the United States might aid in the accomplishment of that great work. When I intimated that our wishes had the same direction but that we fear a direct interference on our part might not only draw on us the hostilities of Spain, but

¹ The manufacture of porcelain at Meissen was due to the discovery by Johann Friedrich Böttger.

² *Amerika dargestellt durch sich selbst, eine Zeitschrift herausgegeben von Georg Joachim Göschen.* Leipzig, 1818-1820.

what we more dreaded, the enmity of the great continental powers of Europe, particularly Russia, he scouted the idea. He declared that Russia was now friendly to the Spanish colonies and would willingly see them liberated. That the late change of ministry in Spain was effected by the influence of England and against the intents of Russia, which Pizarro was known particularly to favor. That it was the Emperor Alexander, who, at the late Congress of Vienna, prevented the interference of the other monarchs in favor of Spain, and that Spain was in consequence very angry. Russia he said was taking the place of Napoleon, and her great object to set limits to the power of England. In fact he confirmed us in the opinion that the English are not in favor here. The Saxons lost, by the Congress of Vienna, three-fifths of their territory, and what renders the loss more sensible the part which remains has not salt and wood sufficient for the consumption of its inhabitants, and there is even a scarcity of bread-stuffs. The King submits with patience to his disgrace, but the old Queen¹ is very indignant and will not even speak to the Prussian Minister accredited to the Court.

29. We went this morning to the Roman Catholic Church and saw the Royal family during the service. To have a better view of them we waited their return to the palace, in the corridor. The King and the Queen had the curiosity after passing us to turn twice to look at us. We returned to our inn and warmed ourselves. We then took a ride to the seat of the late Lord Findlater. It is a beautiful place on the north side of the Elbe, and the bank that slopes from the house to the river is covered with vineyards. From the top of the bank we had a fine view of the whole valley in which Dresden is situated, and the surrounding hills. Higher up the river we saw the palace of Pillnitz, at which the famous treaty of that name is said to have been negotiated.² Across the river the spot was pointed out where Moreau³ fell. There can be nothing more delightful than the environs of Dresden. We spent the evening until eleven o'clock at a ball given by the Prussian Minister at his hotel.

30. We rose early and prepared for our departure. At about half past seven the Russian Prince Constantine⁴ alighted at our hotel. His appearance did justice to all we had heard of him. After

¹ Maria Amelia, daughter of Duke Frederick of Zweibrücken.

² 1791, between the Emperor Leopold II and Frederick William II, King of Prussia, being the first coalition against France.

³ Jean Victor Marie Moreau (1763-1813).

⁴ Pavlowitch Constantin (1779-1831), m. Anne Féodorowne, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Saalfeld-Cobourg, but divorced her and took for a second wife Jeanne Grudzinska, a Pole.

having breakfast we took leave of Dresden at ten o'clock. The road to Tetschen, the first station, runs along the left bank of the Elbe and in summer must be very pleasant. We found it now very muddy and much cut up, and although chaussée we were three hours in making two miles. From Tetschen to Peterswald,¹ the next station, is also two miles and the road very bad and had no appearance of being turnpiked. About half a mile before we arrived at the post-house we passed the frontier of Bohemia, but were stopt only a few minutes at the barrier and our baggage was not searched. The officer contented himself with endorsing our passport. On arriving at the post-house we went in and sought for apartments, but the first door we opened communicated with a stable where the cattle were enjoying their supper. We then turned and mounted a staircase on the top of which we encountered a maid servant who conducted us to a small cold room without fire or any stove or chimney to make one. The servant said it was the only room that remained unoccupied. I remonstrated and requested to see the master of the house and was shown into a comfortable apartment where the postmaster was enjoying his game of cards. He appeared to be annoyed by the interruption and demanded roughly what I wanted. I replied I wished him to have the goodness, as he understood French, to explain for me. He then demanded what there was to explain. I remarked that the night was very cold and they had shown us into a room which could not be warmed. He answered that it was the only room we could have and we must take it or none. I then addressed his compassion by stating that we were Americans and of course from a great distance, that I had with me women and an infant and that it was impossible to pass the night in the room which had been shown to us. At this moment Mrs. Russell with the child in her arms made her appearance. At this speech and this spectacle the mighty man appeared to lose some of his rigidity and exclaimed in softer tones: "There are women and children and something must be done." He immediately went out and after a few minutes returned and informed us that another room, where there was a fire, was at our disposition. We repaired to it and finding there only two beds stated the necessity of a third for Amelia. He then very politely offered his own office where there was a bed and a fire, and we passed the night very comfortably. It was five o'clock and already dark before we reached this place and had made only four miles during the day.

December 1. We found ourselves this morning to be on very

¹ The present Königswalde.

high ground. The air was very keen and the fog froze as it came in contact with any object and covered it with hoar-frost. We breakfasted and left Peterswald at seven thirty. We still ascended for more than half an hour, when, having attained the height of land, we began to descend and at length reached the valley at Unterabesau where we changed horses at half past ten o'clock. Close by the post-house is a monument erected to commemorate a victory gained by the Prussians over the French in 1813. The fog as we descended had become less dense and the weather less cold. We reached Teplitz at half past twelve. This place is very celebrated for its baths and is crowded during the proper season with those who have faith in the virtues of its waters. We changed horses at Teplitz and reached Mireschowitz at half past three where we also changed horses and proceeded to Laun which we reached at five and stopt for the night. We found there tolerable quarters and reasonable charges. We had made this day eight German miles and found the road better than yesterday, although the frost had made the chaussée rough.

2. We breakfasted and left Laun at half past seven. We changed at Tainitzl¹ at ten, at Schlan at twelve thirty, at Strzedokluk at two thirty and reached Prague at four. Prague, so celebrated, we found to be still a strongly fortified city and is divided into the upper and lower towns and the postilion locked our wheels in descending from the former to the latter. The inn where we stopt, though spacious, was dirty and it was with difficulty that we could obtain two bed-chambers or two sheets to a bed. We had to pay, however, about fifty per cent more than the two preceding nights. We had performed this day eight German miles.

3. Having first breakfasted as usual, we left Prague at half past seven; changed horses at Bechowitz at nine thirty; at Böhmisch-Brod, where the Baron de Grimm located his prophet, at eleven thirty; at Planian at two; at Kolin at four, and reached Czaslau at six. Between Planian and Kolin is the ground where a famous battle was fought during the Seven Years' War and where Frederick commanded in person.

4. As usual breakfasted and left Czaslau at half past seven; had not proceeded more than fifty rods before we found our trunks behind to be loose and on examination discovered that one of the straps that bound them had been stolen at Czaslau. We secured the trunks as well as we could with a rope and changed horses at Jenikau at nine thirty, at Steinsdorf at eleven thirty, at Deutschbrod at one thirty, at Stöcken at three thirty and reached Iglau at

¹ Jungfrau Teinitz?

five thirty. Found here a tolerable inn. Was sorry to learn that Marcus, who had lost one of his listed boots, between Peterswald and Unterabesau, had this day frozen his feet.

5. We had risen at six o'clock this morning, had breakfasted and were as usual ready to depart at half past seven, when Marcus came to inform us that the spring which had been mended in Sweden and at Berlin had again broken. We sent for a smith and were detained until half past ten. We then set off; changed at Stannern at twelve thirty, at Schelletau at three thirty, at Budwitz at five fourteen. Here I lent Marcus my listed boots. Changed at Freyriersdorf at seven and reached Znaim at eight forty-five. We found a spacious, but miserably cold inn and it was with great difficulty that we obtained two sleeping rooms and two sheets for our beds and we were obliged to take up with checked sheets, in part, instead of white ones, and after all we were by no means satisfied that they were clean. Since leaving Stralsund we had no where found blankets and coverlids but generally a feather bed for covering, but often obtain in lieu of it a deckan, which is a quilt with down or feathers. At Znaim, however, and a few other places, we were obliged to lie between two feather beds and the upper one was so narrow that in drawing up the legs, the knees, or the back, found the way out. Since leaving Dresden we had found all the stages to be regularly two miles. We had, of course, made this day ten miles.

6. We found our bill this morning, notwithstanding our wretched fare and accommodations, to be more than double of what we had before paid, even after obtaining, on strong remonstrance, a diminution of six florins. We set off at seven thirty, changed at Jetzelsdorf at ten and reached Hollabrunn at twelve thirty. We here discovered that one of our springs behind had cracked and we were detained an hour to have an iron band put over it. The roads on account of the frost were very rough, particularly where we were obliged to turn out of the worn trail which was often for waggons and carriages. We left Hollabrunn at one thirty and reached Mallebern at three-thirty, where we were obliged again to employ a smith to replace a screw which had broken in one of the fore-springs. We reached Stockerau however at five o'clock, where having given a bill of ten florins to be changed, the postmaster who changed it declared that it was only five and gave us no more, although Amelia and myself had clearly seen before I sent it in that it was ten. The postmaster was therefore necessarily a rogue. We passed the Danube at about half past six and reached the barrier of Vienna at about seven. We had this day travelled twelve German miles and one-fourth, as the stage between Znaim and

Jetzelsdorf was two and one-fourth miles, all the other stages two miles each. At the barrier we were stopt by the officers of police and customs, and after we had explained who we were and had been treated with "Excellency" most prodigally and had been told that out of respect our trunks would not be searched; yet after a detention of half an hour and paying everything which had been demanded of us, we found a soldier placed on the carriage behind. I still thought we were proceeding under his escort to the inn we had mentioned and was only undeceived on entering through a guarded gate a large court-yard and being told, when I demanded if it was the inn, that we were at the custom-house to be searched. An under-officer soon made his appearance with four ill-looking assistants furnished with all the implements necessary to pierce packages, loosen knots, &c., and they immediately began their barbarous work in a most rude and inhospitable manner. We took off the trunks behind and a small band-box swung under the dicky. We opened the carriage and took out a little trunk containing my papers and money. They commanded the ladies to get out that they might examine the box under the back seat. This the ladies refused to do and the chief of the gang clinched his fist and shook it at them and obliged them to remove to the front seat when he took out the box in question which he placed on the ground in the open air with the trunks and bandbox already mentioned and then caused the whole to be opened. As it was severely cold and began to snow I requested at least that out of courtesy to an American Minister he would permit the search to be made in the custom-house. This was roughly refused and I was told that ministers or princes made no difference and that he was greater than them all as he represented the Kaiser. After being detained in this uncomfortable situation nearly two hours and treated with a rudeness and insensibility that I had never experienced elsewhere, we were finally dismissed and proceeded to our inn, the Crown of Hungary, where we arrived a little before eleven o'clock, nearly four hours after we had arrived at the barrier. We found the apartments wretched and drear, but it was too late to look for others.

7. After breakfast I went to deliver my letters to Guymuller & Co., the Chevalier Capellini and the Swedish Minister,¹ all of whom I found at home. I then called on Count Voyna² whom I also saw. At Guymullers I met with John Parish, now Baron Parish, who recognized me. He sent his card in the evening, and Voyna, and my old acquaintance Weiss, and the Swedish Minister called on us.

8. Went this morning in search of lodgings without success.

¹ Comte de Löwenhielm.

² Edward Voyna.

Called at Guymullers and found that they had done nothing for me in this respect and from the coldness of their manner it was easy to perceive that they would do nothing. On my return home I found Voyna and Weiss. I found this day lost having made no arrangement whatever.

9. Spent the morning in writing. At eleven o'clock went again in search of lodgings but had to return home without finding any. Amelia accompanied Madam Guymuller in the evening to the theatre to see the children perform, and Mr. Guymuller and Weiss called to us.

10. Went to look at several apartments but found none that would suit us which could be obtained for a less term than six months. Took however, this day a carriage, with four places, for a month and agreed to pay for it three hundred sixty paper florins, coachman and two horses included. The person who furnished the carriage has a very extensive establishment which consists of nine hundred to a thousand horses, and carriages in proportion. Count Voyna and Weiss called again this day.

11. Had a call this morning from the Chevalier Capellini. This day came very near to obtaining apartments but the proprietor had that morning received earnest money from another and could not get rid of his contract, although he professed himself willing so to do for an additional hundred florins. Dined with Mrs. Russell and Amelia with John Parish, whom I had known at his father's in Bath in 1812.¹ Since that time he appears to have married against the wishes of his family, and to save himself and his wife from mortification he has purchased an estate in Bohemia where he resides during the summer. This estate is called Senftenberg with the title of baron annexed, so that my old acquaintance John Parish is now Baron Parish de Senftenberg, and lest there should be any ignorance or mistake concerning his real dignity, he writes on all his visiting cards, at full length, "Baron Parish de Senftenberg." The party at dinner was small but the dinner very good, and the apartments richly furnished. I handed Madam la Baroness in to dinner and of course seated myself by her. I found her, during the dinner, in the conversation which I intentionally introduced, to be full of her title and property. She told me that the estate of the Baron in Bohemia was a little world of itself, and that there were fifteen thousand peasants attached to it who considered the Baron as their lord and master. When I suggested my former acquaintance with the father of Mr. Parish at Bath and that I had met at

¹ An interesting outline of the life of John Parish, Sr. (1742-1829) is in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xxv. 172.

his house some of the English nobility, she exclaimed: "No wonder, we see none but the first nobility here." Upon the whole, though sufficiently good-natured, she appeared to be rather a vulgar woman without beauty to redeem her. After dinner they very civilly gave us the key to a box at the Hof-theatre, where we saw "Jean de Paris" very indifferently performed. This day Charles entered my service.

12. This day we at length succeeded in finding apartments. They were situated in the Rothe Thurm Gasse No. 516, consisting of a suite of seven or eight rooms. We were obliged to pay for them for one month, nine hundred paper florins which we considered very dear. We removed to our new apartments in the evening.

13. Called with Weiss, at noon, on my old friend Navarro,¹ who received me very cordially. At two o'clock Mr. Parish called to accompany me by appointment to see Count Stadion.² We found the Count very amiable and he spoke English very intelligibly. He is Minister of Finance. I dined this day at three o'clock with Mrs. Russell and Amelia at our banker Guymuller. There was a large party at the table and the dinner was rather distinguished by its cost than by its elegance. I handed in Mrs. Guymuller, and there was much hesitation and confusion among the rest of the company in finding their places. After dinner played one game of billiards and went with Weiss, who was waiting for us, to make a visit to Baron Arnstein, another rich banker. His daughter, the Baroness Penara, received us very politely and appeared to be a very accomplished woman.

14. Navarro and Weiss called on us this morning, after which I called on the Swedish Minister and then spent the rest of the day in writing.

15. I went this morning to call on the Prussian Minister the General Krusemarck³ whom I had known at Paris in 1811. He appeared pleased to see me, and while there the Chevalier Floret, who had been at the same epoch, Chancellor of the Austrian Embassy, came in and recognized me immediately. A Mr. Barry, an Irish gentleman whom I had met at Arnstein's, called on me this morning and tendered his services in any way in which he could be useful.

16. This morning two Americans called on us, a Mr. Watts of New York and a Mr. Frick of Baltimore. The former is engaged in collecting the best edition of the classics for publication in Amer-

¹ Chevalier Navarro d'Andrada, chargé d'affaires of Portugal.

² Jean Philippe Charles Joseph, Comte de Stadion (1763-1824).

³ Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig von Krusemarck (1767-1822).

ica. He says he keeps a journal of all he does and sees which he intends one day to give to the public. Mr. Frick is pursuing his studies in medicine, and visits Vienna chiefly to acquire a knowledge of the diseases of the eye which are said to be better understood here than elsewhere. At twelve we took a ride in the Prater, or park, which is much frequented in the fine season and must then be delightful. The Swedish Minister accompanied me in the evening at half past nine o'clock to the house of Prince Metternich¹ and introduced me to the Prince and Princess. I had met the Prince, in 1810, at the Duke of Cadore's² at Paris, and I now found that eight years had made him somewhat older. He is still, however, a handsome man, and extremely engaging in his manner. The Princess is not handsome and is cold and repulsive in her deportment.

17. This day there was a great military parade at the Prater for the amusement of the Emperor Alexander.³ We repaired to the ground at eleven o'clock. About twelve the two Emperors made their appearance and passed quite close to us in proceeding to the field. They spent about two hours in reviewing the different corps. They then returned by the way they had before passed, and stopt at a little distance from us to see the troops defile. All the troops were in their best uniform, and the princes headed their own regiments in person, such as the Prince Charles, Duke of Saxony, Colorada-Liechtenstein,⁴ etc. The regiment of the Emperor Alexander, consisting of Hungarians, marched in front, and as soon as the front ranks reached the spot where we were placed, the Emperor Alexander came and placed himself at their head and drew his sword, and so passed the Emperor of Austria.⁵ We were very fortunate in being well placed, which was very much owing to the Countess of Esterhazy⁶ who, perceiving we were strangers, told us to remain where we were, as the Prince Schwartzberg⁷ had told her it was the best place for seeing the review. There were about thirty thousand troops of all arms and the spectacle was magnificent. Weiss went home and dined with us, and then we went to a small theatre in the faubourg in our vicinity.

18. We this morning repaired early to a place about three Eng-

¹ Clemens Wenzel Lothar Metternich-Winneburg (1773-1859). He married, in 1795, the Countess Eleonore von Kaunitz, grand-daughter of the Austrian chancellor of the name.

² Jean-Baptiste Champagny, Duc de Cadore (1756-1834).

³ Alexander I (1777-1825), Tsar of Russia. It was in 1818 that he became reactionary in politics.

⁴ Colloredo?

⁵ Francis II (1768-1835), the last Roman Emperor.

⁶ Wife of Prince Nicholas Esterházy.

⁷ Karl Philipp Schwarzenberg (1771-1820).

lish miles from Vienna which had been destined for military manoeuvres for the amusement likewise of Alexander. There was a bridge of boats thrown across the small branch of the Danube at the end of the Prater and we placed ourselves on the opposite side. The Emperors, who had breakfasted together in the Prater, passed the bridge at twelve o'clock in their carriages from which they descended and mounted on horseback close to where we were. We could not have desired to have a better view of them. We immediately followed the carriages of the Queen to another part of the field where, on an artificial elevation, seats had been prepared for her and her suite. There were no troops on the ground to-day excepting cavalry and artillery and in all about ten thousand men. They all manoeuvred with an imaginary enemy and there were several fine charges by the horse. It ended about two o'clock and without accident, which was the more fortunate as the ground was frozen and slippery. After this parade I dressed and went to dine with Prince Metternich. I found it to be a great ministerial dinner at which all the great officers of State and the members of the diplomatic corps assisted. I was presented to most of them. Among others to the Nuncio of the Pope,¹ who was very affable, and to Lord Stuart,² who was very puppyish. At the table I was seated next Count Stadion, the Minister of Finance, with whom I had much interesting conversation. Saw also Sir Thos. Lawrence.³

19. Spent the morning in shopping and in receiving several calls, among [them] General Krusemarck, the Prussian Minister.

20. We spent the morning in taking a ride to the Danube and viewing the seat of the war in 1809, the fields of Essling and Wagram and the Island of Lobau. We then dined with Arnstein the banker. After dinner called on Madam Eschelas and then assisted at an Imperial Banquet given by the Emperor of Austria to the Emperor Alexander. This spectacle continued until eleven o'clock.

21. Our countryman, Mr. Watts, called on us this morning by agreement, and conducted us to the great Imperial Library and to the private library of the Emperor. We found the librarians of both very obliging. The librarian of the public library showed us many curious books and manuscripts, and gave us a fac-simile of a Roman Senatus Consultum found at Pompeii and of a Chinese manuscript. After viewing the libraries we went to the Church of the Capuchins and saw the celebrated monument, by Canova, of

¹ M. Leardi, bishop of Ephesus.

² Charles William, Baron Stewart, and later third Marquis of Londonderry (1778-1854). It is said his insolent manners led to the coachmen of Vienna assaulting him. Rumbold, *The Austrian Court in the Nineteenth Century*, 93.

³ Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830).

the Princess of Saxony. We then went to the Convent of the Capuchins and saw the Imperial Tombs. Mrs. Russell asked the monk who attended us to show us the cells of the brotherhood, but the good man declined this indulgence stating that the cells were forbidden to women. I then called on Lord Guilford and Navarro. Our friend Major Weiss dined with us and we went together to the Hof-theatre in the evening.

22. Visited this morning the gallery of pictures of the Prince Liechtenstein, saw many admirable pieces of the various schools by the first masters. I afterwards made several calls.

23. Spent this morning in visiting the palace of Schoenbrunn, the summer residence of the son of Napoleon Bonaparte.

24. Went this morning to the Belvedere, the ancient palace of Prince Eugene. The gallery of painting being shut we saw a fine mosaic by Raffaelli,¹ of the "Last Supper" painted, in fresco, by Leonardo da Vinci. We also saw the halls containing ancient armour and many other curious objects.

25. Not very well this day and remained at home. Received a call from the Chevalier Capellini — very busily engaged in copying my dispatch for Count D'Engeström.

26. Went by appointment this morning with Major Weiss to see the paintings of Count Lamberg.² The collection was a very choice one and what added to the pleasure of examining was, that the Count had caused the rooms to be warmed, attended in person, and made his servants bring the pictures in succession and exhibit them in a good light. There were several of Murillo which we saw. There were also of Raphael, Titian, Guido, Leonardo da Vinci, Rubens, Rembrandt, &c. We spent the evening at home and had a call from the Baroness Parish de Senftenberg and her niece.

27. Weiss dined with us, and in the evening we went to the theatre and saw the children's ballet. This exhibition is peculiar to Vienna. One or two hundred children are taken at a very early age and taught to dance, sing, act, and all the accomplishments of the theatre, and it is to be feared also all its vices. Excellent performers of different kinds are no doubt produced in this way, but all morals must be early depraved. The virtues are merely acted; the vices are to the life. We were surprised to see boys and girls from ten to fourteen years of age dance and play with grace, energy, and taste, and catch with great precision the characters which they respectively represented.

28. This day at twelve o'clock the Swedish Minister called on

¹ Giacomo Raffaelli (1770—).

² Franz Philipp, Comte de Lamberg (1791-1848).

me and accompanied me to the palace where agreeably to a previous arrangement he presented me to Francis the First, Emperor of Austria. He received me very graciously; inquired whence I came and being answered "from Stockholm," he asked how the King was. He inquired if I intended to stay long at Vienna and when I replied "not long," he very civilly expressed a wish that I would stay out the carnival. He is a man below the average stature, slightly built and although not yet old bears the marks of time and care. Upon the whole I found him to be in appearance a very indifferent person, and I believe his character corresponds with his appearance. His will, however, is the law for about thirty millions of people.

29. Again unwell and spent the day at home in writing. Received a call from Navarro, Weiss and Palmstjerne.

30. Put my dispatch for Sweden in the post for Hamburg this morning. In the evening went again to see the children's ballet.

31. Called at noon with Baron Palmstjerne on the Baron Munchausen¹ the Minister of Hesse Cassel, and in the evening went with Mrs. R[ussell] and A[melia] to a ball which he gave. Passed a pleasant evening. All the corps diplomatic were there and Prince Metternich, Prince Rosomoskey and many other Austrian and foreign nobility. Returned home about midnight. Prince Metternich procured a presentation to Mrs. Russell and held a long conversation with her.

1 January, 1819. Received several calls this morning. Dined with Mrs. R[ussell] and Amelia at Baron Parish de Senftenberg's. Met there Lord Guilford, Mr. Ponsonby with his wife, Lady Barbary, etc. After dinner went habillé to Prince Metternich's where there was a vast crowd of fashionable people in full dress. We then went to the Hof-theatre and saw the celebrated opera of the "Charmed Flute" — by Mozart.

2. Went this morning and took a bath, found the baths to be clean, well arranged and well served. At three went to the Portuguese Minister's, who exhibited to us his small but choice collection of pictures. At four we sat down to an excellent dinner and remained until seven.

3. Rode this morning to the Prater. In the evening called with the Swedish Minister on the Prince Trautmannsdorff.²

4. Settled this morning with my banker. Called at the police for my passport, but they were not able to find it. The Baroness Munchhausen took Mrs. R[ussell] shopping and Mrs. R[ussell] and

¹ Baron de Munchhausen.

² Ferdinand Trautmannsdorf (1749-1827).

Amelia spent the evening with her. There were some pleasant anecdotes told of the sycophancy of the courtiers of Alexander of Russia. Last evening there was a rumor of changes in France and this morning I learned that all the French Ministers, excepting Richelieu,¹ had been dismissed, but Richelieu was not only retained but authorized to form a new administration. The Emperor Alexander is supposed to be the cause of all this. Richelieu, since his return from Aix-la-Chapelle to Paris, is said to have discovered strong ultra notions, in conformity, it is believed, to his instructions from Alexander. He therefore differed harshly with his colleagues who are liberals and who are said to have, in consequence, required the dismissal of Richelieu or their own, and it seems the King preferred the latter. Upon these events the stocks at Paris fell from sixty-seven to sixty. Prince Metternich is said to disapprove this change and the Emperor of Austria says if the French only stay at home they may do as they please.

5. At ten o'clock this morning went to the palace of Belvedere and saw the magnificent collection of pictures arranged in a magnificent suite of rooms. There were specimens of all the great Italian and Flemish masters, one or two Murillos, etc., etc. The "Assumption" by Rubens is the best production of this master which I have seen, excepting the "Descent from the Cross" in the cathedral in Antwerp. Sent this day to the police and got my passport. In the evening Weiss and Palmstjerne called.

6. Rode to the palace of Schoenbrunn and walked over the grounds. They must be very delightful in summer. Major Weiss dined with us. Left cards of P. P. C. at Guymuller's and Eshelas'. Called on Madam Purrara and spent the remainder of the evening at Baron Parish von Senftenberg's. Many Englishmen there. It was a sort of plum-cake festival for Twelfth-night.

7. Engaged this morning in settling sundry accounts. Called on Navarro to take leave. At half past eleven o'clock Mrs. Russell was, by appointment, presented to the Emperor by the Baroness of Munchhausen and at half past five, to the Empress in the same manner. She found them both very gracious and amiable. I had received a note yesterday from the grand-master of ceremonies, announcing that he would announce me, this day, at six o'clock to the Empress. I was accordingly presented immediately after Mrs. Russell had left her Majesty. While in waiting and in conversation with the G[rand] M[aster], had one of my turns badly. In my

¹ Armand Emmanuel du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu (1766-1822). He resigned the Presidency of the Council. See *Annual Register*, 1818, 157, where the new ministry is given.

conversation with the grand-master, the Count Wurmbrand, we touched on the affairs of South America and was surprised and pleased to hear him express a disposition favorable to their independence. From his rank and situation I was willing to believe this opinion to be that of the Court.

8. Settled this morning with the saddler for repairs of the carriage, etc. Sent several cards of P. P. C. At two o'clock went by appointment to the old Chancery to see the paintings of Sir Thomas Lawrence. Found among them several fine portraits. The heads of Prince Metternich and Count Chernicheff¹ were very happily executed. The Prince Schwarzenberg² told me that the head of the Ionian Capo D'Istria,³ now the confidant and prime minister of Alexander, was the best. After leaving the rooms of Sir Thomas I went with Major Weiss to make a purchase of cumweiss for Mrs. Russell. Spent the morning until half past eleven at a ball given by Count Caraman the French Ambassador.⁴ Among other distinguished personages met there the Archduke Charles and Lady.⁵ The Archduke, whose military talents are highly estimated, at least by his own country, is a man below the ordinary statue and of very diminutive appearance in every respect. His entrance was not distinguished by any particular attention or ceremony and he mixed in the throng like a common guest.

9. Spent the morning in making my preparations for departure. The Swedish Minister called to take leave and Weiss staid with us to the last. At half past one we got into our carriage and left Vienna without regret. Vienna is situated at about the 48th degree of latitude, and although we had two or three days during our residence there of pretty cold weather, yet no colder than is felt at Boston and generally the weather was much milder. The government of Austria and all its dominions, excepting Hungary, is [an] absolute monarchy, but mildly administered from the personal character of the reigning monarch. There appears to be no party spirit in this country, at least none is there expressed. I have seen in no other nation the different ranks in society so distinctly marked. The high nobility not only refuse to associate with the richest and most respectable and well informed citizens and bankers, but even with the new made and inferior nobility; and the high-born dames are even more tenacious of rank than the men, although they are

¹ Alexandre Ivanovitch, Prince Tchernicheff (1779-1857).

² Karl Philipp, Prince Schwarzenberg (1771-1820).

³ Jean-Antoine, Comte Capo d'Istria (1776-1831).

⁴ Victor-Marie-Joseph-Louis de Riquet, Marquis de Caraman (1786-1837).

⁵ Karl Ludwig (1771-1847), third son of the Emperor Leopold II. He married, in 1815, Princess Henrietta of Nassau-Weilburg.

generally but indifferently educated and accomplished. Travellers have formerly spoken of the people as singularly moral; but when I mentioned several instances of depravity and dishonesty that had come under my observation, I was told that the manners of the people had deteriorated since the visits of the French and the present state of corruption imputed to French principles and French influence. This may be so, but from the short time the French were among the people the operation of these causes must, it should seem, have been powerfully aided by the vitiated tone that already existed and a predisposition to take the contagion.¹

Austria still keeps on foot a military force of three or four hundred thousand men, and her finances are in a most wretched situation. It is pretended, however, that a few years of peace will restore order to her finances and place them in a flourishing condition. At present the new issue of paper is at a depreciation of two and one-half for one. There is evidently a jealousy of Russian power among the people, although I was told, in great confidence, that an understanding existed between the two Emperors; that Alexander might proceed as he thought proper in respect to Turkey, if Francis might act with the same liberty in respect to Italy. It is undoubtedly the ambition of both to aggrandize themselves respectively in these directions, but I doubt if there is any understanding on the subject. I saw several of the mission who had accompanied the Archduchess to Rio Janeiro, and they were all completely disgusted with the Brazils.

Immediately on leaving Vienna we saw the mountains of Styria before us, and the mountains of Austria on either hand. We proceeded this day only three German miles and stopt at the little village of []² for the night.

10. We left our inn this day at three quarters past seven and travelled very diligently and without stopping until six o'clock in the evening when we arrived at the village of Schottwien, a distance of eight German miles, where we passed the night. The mountains, which in the morning were at a considerable distance on both sides, had been gradually approaching during the day, and we now found ourselves in the midst of them, but had not hitherto been obliged to ascend them. The inn where we stopt, although the best in this neighborhood, was very miserable.

11. We left our lodgings at the same hour as the preceding morning. Our driver had made his arrangements for passing the mountains and in order to save his own horses had procured four

¹ See *Austria and the Austrians* (1837), I. 120.

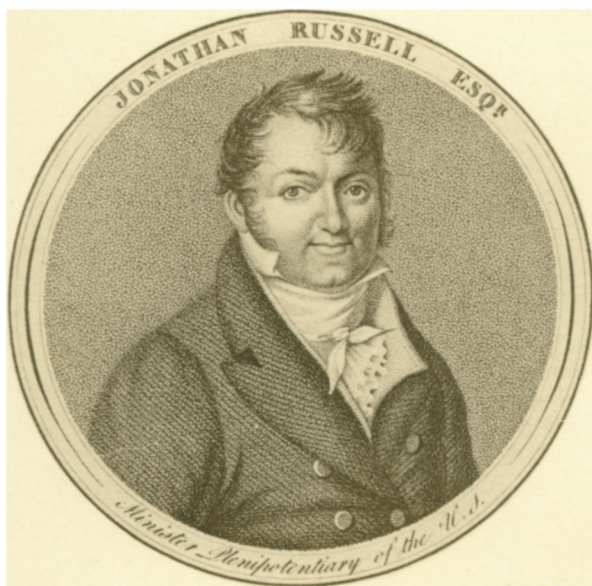
² Neudorf would answer to a position eight miles from Schottwien.

fresh ones, at the post, for this purpose. Immediately on leaving our inn we began to ascend the mountain, in our way, which is called the "Semmering" and at nine o'clock reached the summit which is stated to be 2944 French feet above the sea.¹ Here we found a monument which announced that the line between the provinces of Austria and Styria passed there. On leaving our inn we found the weather moderate and the snow was melting and we rode with the glasses of our carriage down to enjoy the view. At the top of the mountain, however, the air became excessively keen and cold, and not only obliged us to raise our glasses but soon covered them with a coat of ice formed by the congealing of our breath, and which was totally impervious to the sight. The weather again moderated as we descended the mountain on the other side, and we soon entered the fine and well cultivated valley of the Mürz. We followed the course of this river, the mountains receding a little as we reached the village of Mürzhofen at half past five. The bath of Staintz [Stanz] is in the vicinity of this place; celebrated for its incrustations, but we were too fatigued to examine it. We found our inn tolerable.

12. We recommenced our journey this morning at quarter past seven, and having left the banks of the Mürz, we found ourselves on those of another river called the Mur which joins the Drave and empties at Constantinople. It is bordered, like the Mürz, by a fine valley through which our road ran nearly level, while the mountains continued near us on both hands. We passed this day the town of Brugg-sur-le-Mur [Bruck an der Mur] where there is a château, etc. In the neighborhood [are] rich mines of iron, the steel made from which, is said to be the best in Europe. We also passed the small town of Leoben, celebrated by the peace which bears its name. We stopt for the night at the village of Kraubat. We had met during the day, many people with swellings on the throat which are known by the name of goitres, said to be occasioned by the quality of the water. At the inn where we stopt there was an idiot whose want of mind was imputed to the same cause. The inn was poor but the people obliging.

13. We left Kraubat at half past seven and continued to travel during the day along the valley watered by the Mur. We passed a considerable town called Judenburg, and reached the village of Unzmarkt where we stopt for the night at six o'clock; we found a good inn. While our chambers were warming we went into the

¹ The figures in modern guide books are 3215 feet. There were at this time only three roads in the Eastern Alps; at the Brenner, the Radstätter Tauern and the Semmering.



FROM A CONTEMPORARY ENGRAVING PRINTED BY CH. BANCE, PARIS

public room and found a party of old men, some of them in appearance at least three score and ten, engaged at a party of cards.

14. We set off this morning at quarter past seven and about half past ten arrived at the village of Neumarkt, where we left the province of Styria and entered that of Carinthia. We reached our lodgings at St. Veit at six o'clock. We this day parted with the Mur but joined the Drav or Drave, which kindly aided our rout with a valley and kept the road nearly on a level. At our inn instead of card players we were amused by the long prayers of the peasants before and after their supper.

15. We left St. Veit at half past seven, crossed the Drave at Klagenfurt, and arrived at Villach at six o'clock. We had still continued to see many people with goitres and this evening found two idiots at our inn.

16. We did not leave our inn this morning until eight o'clock. We had observed yesterday Indian corn hung up on several houses to dry, and at Villach we obtained an ear in order to carry with us to America to try as seed. We reached Arnoldstein about eleven o'clock, and having obtained two horses we began to ascend the Alps. The scenery was magnificent, but the road along the side of the mountain often so narrow as barely to allow the passage of our carriage, while a frightful precipice yawned beneath us. We reached Tarvis, however, at about half past two without accident, when having passed the height of the mountains we dismissed our additional horses. We then continued our rout to Pontebba, where we stopt at seven o'clock for the night. Pontebba is the frontier town and divides Germany from Italy; one-half belonging to the former and one-half to the latter.¹ The river of Tagliamento² runs through this town and divides it, and divides indeed the people in every respect; in language, taste, character and habits. We stopt on the Italian side and no longer heard German, nor were tucked between two feather beds so narrow as scarcely to cover the sleeper while he lay straight and still and was sure to leave him when he turned, but we found ourselves in the midst of immense beds at least eight feet broad with clean sheets and fine blankets and quilts. Germany, adieu. We indeed leave you without regret.

17. Left Pontebba at a quarter past seven. We left the road marked in the post-book this day. We kept on the banks of the Tagliamento, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, for we crossed it at least half a dozen times, until one o'clock, when we left it and the mountains on our right and reached Udine at half

¹ The Austrian town on the frontier is now known as Pontafel.

² It is the Pontebbana River.

past seven. Since we left Tarvis yesterday the road had descended very constantly and generally until past noon this day.

18. We did not leave our inn this morning until half past nine o'clock. We then proceeded to Campo Formio, celebrated for the treaty which Bonaparte signed there with the Austrians.¹ We were shown the house where this treaty was signed and the commencement of a monument which was intended to commemorate that event. We afterwards came again on the banks of the Tagliamento and saw the spot where the famous battle of that name was fought. There was likewise shown us the foundation of a monument in honour of the victory obtained by the French, and an abundance of hewn stone to complete it, but there is no disposition in the present possessors of the soil to accomplish this work. We found the Tagliamento to be now a very small stream, but the extent of the bed which it covers in the time when it is full, is the fourth of an English mile, and shows that it must then be a very considerable river. The intrenchments which were raised by the Austrians before the battle still remain. From Udine the roads are those made by the French and they are excellent as well as the bridges. We reached Valapano at five o'clock and passed the night there.

19. We left Valapano at eight o'clock and a little after noon passed the River Ioxa² and saw the field of battle on its bank where Bonaparte had likewise gained a great victory over the Austrians, and where it is said more than thirty thousand men were slain. The Austrian works are also still to be seen here. We reached Treviso at five o'clock and stopt for the night.

20. We left Treviso at nine o'clock and reached Mestre at noon. Here we left our carriage and having taken off our baggage proceeded to Venice by water. We entered the Great Canal about four o'clock and stopt at the inn of Great Britain. We felt too fatigued to begin our examination of the city at this late hour. We therefore kept comfortably in our quarters.

21. Having taken a valet de place and a gondola in our service, we went at eleven o'clock to the place of St. Mark and visited the church of this Saint, and the Palace of the ancient Doges. The church is a very gloomy building of Gothic appearance, although its ornaments consist of columns, etc., of all the Roman and Grecian orders. Some of these were brought from Africa, some from Constantinople, Greece and various parts of Italy. There are said to be five hundred columns in all. There are twelve doors and seven cupolas. The floor is mosaic of various fine stones and in walking over it you tread on agate, cornelian, etc. Many of the arches are covered within with small pieces of gilt glass about three-quarters of

¹ October 16, 1797, ending the Republic of Venice.

² Piave River.

an inch square. Indeed the whole church is immensely rich but not elegant. The Palace of St. Mark has undergone several changes. The large council chamber where the senators of Venice once sat in state is now converted into a kind of museum and ornamented with various statues, among which are a very fine "Leda and her swan" of Grecian workmanship, and a "Ganymede" from the chisel of Phydias. The walls and ceiling of the council chamber are still covered with the paintings of the Venetian school, among which the "Paradise" of Tintoretto is perhaps the largest picture in the world. It covers the whole of one end of the chamber and even a part of the sides. The rest of the palace is still occupied by courts of justice, and the prisoner still passes over the Bridge of Sighs to receive his doom. The celebrated lion's mouths through which accusations were secretly conveyed, were torn off by the French, but the holes through the wall with which they communicated still remain. The Bridge of Sighs mentioned above is a small bridge with a covered way over it, extending from the back of the palace of St. Mark to the prison. We went from the church round the place of St. Mark, which is called sometimes, the Place Royal of Venice because surrounded with shops, coffee-houses, etc., but is much inferior to the Palais Royal at Paris. From the Place of St. Mark we proceeded along the quay or mole to the gardens made by the French upon the ground formerly covered by two convents. At the garden we embarked in our gondola and passed over to the island of Lido, which is of considerable extent. We passed on foot over the end of this island and had a full view of the Adriatic. We then returned to our lodgings and on our way met the celebrated Lord Byron,¹ who passes every day regularly between three and four o'clock in his gondola to the island of Lido to take a ride on horseback. After returning to the inn I went to visit my bankers, Messrs. Siri and Wilham, and delivered my letters of credit. In the evening we went to the theatre of [] and saw an opera buffa well performed almost to naked walls, for the house was very thinly attended.

22. This morning we again left our inn at eleven o'clock and first visited the Academy of Arts. There is a fine collection of statues and models both ancient and modern, and we particularly remarked among the latter the "Hebe" of Canova, copied in plaster, of exquisite beauty. In one of the halls of the Academy were several fine pictures of the Venetian masters, but the one which we beheld

¹ He was in the Palazzo Mocenigo on the Grand Canal, "abandoned to degrading excesses which injured his constitution, and afterwards produced bitter self-reproach." *Dictionary of National Biography*, VIII. 145.

with real wonder and rapture was the "Assumption" of Titian. This picture had been placed over an altar-piece in the church of Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, and had become so dirty and smoked that the French did not think it worth carrying to Paris. About two years since it was taken down and cleaned and placed in its present situation as perfectly fresh as when it came from the hand of the painter and is certainly as beautiful a picture as was ever painted not excepting the "Transfiguration" of Raphael. From the Academy of Arts we returned home, when I called on my bankers and went to deliver a letter from Ambrosio, the Neapolitan Minister at Stockholm to the Countess of Tafetta. I then returned to the inn and accompanied the ladies on foot to the Place of St. Mark, where we embarked in our gondola which had been sent there, and crossed the water to the church of St. Giorgio Maggiore. This church is a very beautiful building and contains several fine pictures. After having seen it we went to the custom-house and porto Franco, erected by the French on the same island. We thence went to visit the church of Madonna della Salute, where also are several fine pictures. The priest who conducted us about the church very pleasantly told us an anecdote of Paul Veronese whom he represented to have been a little deranged. This painter had been employed to paint an altar-piece for this church, in which the Holy Trinity were to be portrayed. He finished the work and the Sanctus Spiritus being represented as usual by the form of a dove, it came into the painter's head that a bag would be a good thing to put the dove in, and he painted one accordingly. The Church of Madonna della Salute was commenced in 1630, to avert the plague which raged at that time at Venice. Spent the evening at home.

23. We went this morning to visit the church of de Minori Conventuali called dei Frari.¹ The first object which caught our attention was a plain stone on which was inscribed

Qui giace il gran Tiziano de Vercelli
Emulator de Zeusi e degli Appelli.

thus denoting that the great Titian was there buried. This church contains some very fine paintings. We next went to the church of St. Roque,² and after having seen the pictures which it contains we were shown the place in which is kept some of the true blood of Jesus Christ. We were not allowed to see the blood itself which can be shown once a year only, but the door of a little cabinet formed in one of the recesses of the church was opened and another little door

¹ Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, already mentioned, *supra*.

² San Rocco.

on the back side of this cabinet was shown us, beyond which was another little cabinet, and in this last was said to be the blood in question. The cabinet opened contained several relics, but by no means so precious as that contained in the cabinet which continued shut. From the church we went into the copairie of St. Roque,¹ where we saw several fine pictures, particularly the "Crucifixion" by Tintoretto, which is considered as his masterpiece. We next went to visit a collection of pictures in the palace of Barberio. They were contained in the very room in which the great Titian sometimes painted. It was a small but choice collection, and a *Madeleine* and a "*Venus*" by Titian were particularly fine. The owner, having found too much nudity in the latter, caused it to be partially defaced by a dauber. In this room was an imperfect St. Sebastian, which Titian did not live to finish. We next went to the manufactory of the small glass beads and witnessed the process of making them. At eight o'clock in the evening we went to the great opera and were very much charmed with the music and dancing. The best singer was Signora Fiodore, and she certainly had great skill and a fine voice. The dancers appeared to be less vigorous but more graceful than those of the grand opera at Paris. The opera did not finish until after midnight, when we went for a short time to the Ridotto to witness a public masked ball. We found, however, nothing there of sufficient interest to detain us and soon retired. Tumblers, cat and ass on the moro.

24. This day being Sunday we confined our excursions chiefly to church St. John and Paul.² We visited that of the Jesuits, among the others, but being chiefly for the edification of young females I was not allowed to go to the bottom of the church and Mrs. Russell and Amelia went without me. We now proceeded to the Palazzo Grimani and visited its several apartments, in which were some good pictures and fine ancient statues. Among these the heads of Cicero, Marius, Sylla, Augustus and his wife were the best. We next passed the water to the church of the Armenians, which we found to be a very interesting establishment. The monk who conducted us had been in England and spoke pretty good English. He had likewise been the instructor of Lord Byron and told us his Lordship spoke Armenian tolerably well. This monk informed us that there were thirty-eight letters in the Armenian alphabet, to which he ascribed the facility with which the Armenians acquired foreign languages. The founders of this church came about a century ago from the vicinity of Mount Ararat.

¹ Scuola di San Rocco.

² Santi Giovanni e Paolo, containing the tombs of the Doges.

Bonaparte spared this establishment on account of its utility. They have a printing-press on which they print all languages.¹ A prayer-book was shown us printed in sixteen languages. This press is now employed in printing Eusebius in Latin, as the manuscripts of this author, which were wanting, have lately been found.² Lord Guilford has engaged to subscribe for this work for me. The monk boasted the Armenian language to be the oldest in the world.

25. Went this morning to visit the Arsenal. Saw there the manufactory of muskets. A considerable collection of arms and armour of former times and other nations. Among other things the armour of Henry the Fourth of France; the monument of General Emo³ by Canova — a fine work. Fame kneels to him having laid down her trumpet, and Genius stands over him crowning him with laurel. We then went to see the navy. There are three ships of seventy-four guns afloat, and two others of the same force building, and one of eighty guns. There are five or six frigates afloat and one on the stocks, besides several corvettes. The ships afloat are entirely dismantled and the copper taken off to high-water mark. The Austrian government have done nothing to finish the ships which had been begun by the French, but they continue as they were in the beginning of 1814. They appear to be of excellent materials and well constructed. From the Arsenal we went to see a very fine collection of paintings in the palace of Señor Manfrin. There were many fine pictures of Titian, Paul Veronese, etc.; one of Rembrandt, one of Rubens, of Correggio, etc. That of Correggio, a small "Magdalen," and a small "Descent from the Cross," by Raphael, were very fine. There was also one of the cartoons of Raphael. After leaving these apartments, we went to see the church of the Carmelites Déchausés,⁴ which is very rich in marble. In the evening we went to take a farewell look of the palace, etc., of St. Mark, and we walked over the Rialto. In ascending the bridge I counted sixty steps and the same in descending. Venice appears to be rapidly on the decline. Our inn was formerly the palace of Falciti, and is called the inn of Great Britain. We found our landlord to be a great scoundrel. Our engagement with our vetturino expressly obliged him to warm and light two apartments

¹ An Armenian press was established in Venice in 1565, and "the press which has done most in printing Armenian authors is that of the Mechitharists of Venice." These Armenian monks, followers of Mechithar, were established by him in 1717 in the island of San Lazzaro, south of Venice, and form one of the noblest congregations of the Roman Catholic Church.

² A *Chronicle*, in two books, c. 303-325 A. D.

³ Angelo Emo (1731-1792). He was an admiral.

⁴ Chiesa degli Scalzi.

which were all we had warmed and lighted at Venice. When, however, I demanded the bill for what I had had extra, the landlord said the vetturino had refused to pay for any wax candles or for warming more than one room, as wood at Venice was very dear. The landlord therefore demanded of me fifteen francs for wax candles and thirty-seven francs for fuel. As the vetturino had already gone to Mestre and I could have no explanation with him, I paid these sums in order to save a dispute, taking his receipt to his bill and his positive assertion that the vetturino had not paid him for the same thing. When I expostulated afterwards with the vetturino he produced the bill which he had paid and which even included the candles and the wood for which this rascally landlord had made me pay a second time. This landlord, however, on taking leave of me had the impudence to give me his cards and to request me to recommend his house!!!

26. At nine o'clock this morning we embarked for Mestre, where we had left our carriage. Just as we were getting into the boat the same Armenian monk, who had shown us the convent, made his appearance and informed me that Lord Guilford had already mentioned my wish to subscribe for Eusebius, and that he should act accordingly. I confirmed the proceeding and gave him the names of my bankers at Rome and Naples. We reached Mestre at eleven o'clock, and having spent half an hour in making our arrangements we recommenced our journey and reached Padua at five o'clock.

27. We went this morning first to see the ancient hall of justice,¹ which is much more spacious than that of Venice, but greatly inferior in the richness and beauty of its decorations. It contains, however, a small monument to Titus Livius, who was born in this town. The monument consists of an ancient bust brought from Rome by two of the magistrates of Padua and a large marble slab placed in the wall beneath it. On the bust is inscribed "T. Liv." and on the marble slab

T. Livivs Liviae Qvartall Halys Concordalis Patavi sibi et suis omnibus.²

We next visited the Cathedral of which Petrarch, also a native of Padua, was a canon. About a year since a bust of this poet, sculptured by a scholar of Canova, was placed in this Cathedral. It is finely executed, the head bound with a wreath of laurel. Beneath the bust on a marble slab is inscribed as follows:

¹ Il Salone.

² Russell omits the last line — "Hoc totus stares aureus ipse loco."

Francisco Petrachae
Antonio Barbr Soncino
Canonicus Canonico
Ann. MDCCCXVIII.

P.

L. M. D. C. D.

On entering the Cathedral we had seen a poor woman lying in convulsions near the door on the outside, surrounded by a few women and girls of the most miserable appearance. On going out Mrs. R[ussell] caused [her, by] our valet de place aided by another person, to be taken from the cold stone on which she was lying, and to be borne into the church and placed in a chair. We then sent for a priest. Two came. One looked at her a moment and left her. The other felt her pulse with great indifference and immediately left her also without affording or recommending any assistance. We looked after these good Catholics with much indignation, and saw them both as they passed the altar, in proceeding to the other end of the church, make their genuflexion and cross themselves very devoutly. Such is a religion of form and ostentation, but destitute of benevolence and good works. These priests dressed pontifically, adored the marble, and left a fellow creature to perish. We next went to the palace of Count G., where was a curious piece of sculpture said to have been praised by Canova. It was about four feet high in the form of a pyramid of one entire piece of marble representing the "Fall of the Angels." The Angel Gabriel or Michael was at the top with his drawn sword bending down with a menacing attitude over the fallen devils. The devils were sixty-six in number, with horns and tails in various postures, but so placed as to form the rest of the pyramid. Satan was cut at the bottom pointing upwards with an heroic air. This piece was made about a hundred years since by an artist in the house where it now stands. He is said to have worked at it twelve years for two or three hours per day. Each figure, if erect, would measure a little more than a foot and is very perfectly formed. We next visited the fine church of St. Justin¹ designed by Palladio. Padua is strongly fortified by the moderns. It also contains a Roman wall. We left Padua at noon and had not proceeded far when our vetturino, by placing himself on the dicky, broke one of the foresprings. We reached Vicenza at five.

28. Went this morning to visit the Amphitheatre Olimpique by Palladio; a beautiful interior of the Corinthian order of two ranges, one placed over the other. It will contain two thousand

¹ Andrea Briosco was the architect of Santa Giustina, not Palladio.

five hundred spectators in the semicircle, which in appearance has not a fourth of the capacity requisite for such a number. The avenues upon the stage, by another artist, are a fine specimen of architectural perspective. The columns of the amphitheatre were of brick covered with stucco which was still perfect after a period of two hundred and thirty-five years. We then visited several other buildings constructed by Palladio, and saw the house in which he lived, for he was a native of Vicenza. We visited also the church of Madonna del Monte which is beautifully situated on an eminence¹ just without the town, and from which there is a magnificent view of the Alps on one side, and Padua and the country on the other. In ascending to this church we walked under an arcade which I found to be nine hundred and ninety paces in length. We saw at the church a very fine picture of Paul Veronese which is generally called the "Supper of St. Gregory." In returning to our inn we saw the celebrated bridge of Bacchia.² We left Vicenza at half past eleven and reached Verona at six. Stopt at the inn called the Tower, which we found a good one.

29. The first thing which drew our attention this morning was the celebrated Roman Amphitheatre. We found the main body of the building in the interior very entire. It was said to contain thirty thousand spectators. The seats still remain of solid stone, now called the stone of St. Ambrosio. These seats run entirely round the amphitheatre and are forty-three as we counted them, one above the other, although our guide insisted that there were forty-five. The cells were shown us in which the wild beasts were confined. The wall which surrounded the arena was about five feet high only, which I suggested was too low to afford security against the wild beasts. To obviate this objection our guide endeavored to persuade us that these animals were never let out entirely free but were confined by a chain fastened in the centre of the arena. The seats were about ten inches high and of about the same width at the top. They are interrupted by two lodges opposite to each, designed, no doubt, for the great dignitaries, and by the steps for ascending and descending which were of half the size of the seats. There is only a small part of the exterior wall which surrounded the amphitheatre now standing. The French replaced several of the stones of the interior and filled up the interstices with stucco to prevent the water from descending and undermining the work. Several excavations have lately been made under the arena, and the aqueducts have been discovered which let in and let out the water. The

¹ Monte Berico.

² Over the Bacchiglione, and erected by Palladio.

former, it is ascertained, communicated with the Adige, and the excavation is still continued, by order of the Emperor of Austria, to clear this aqueduct in its whole length. There is a little theatre for summer built in the middle of the arena which looks truly diminutive and contemptible. From the amphitheatre we went to the museum of Marquis Scipio Maffei¹ where we saw a fine collection of ancient marbles but much mutilated. We then passed by the ancient Roman wall and went to see the sarcophagus in which the famous Juliette of the Capuletti was interred. They show the holes which were left open for respiration. This sarcophagus was also of stone of St. Ambrosio. We afterwards visited a small but choice collection of pictures belonging to Alberini. We then viewed the Arch of Triumph of Gallienus and returned to our inn. After dinner we went with our valet de place to see a bridge over the Adige built by the Romans. It consisted of five arches, three of brick and two of stone, of unequal dimensions. The three of brick were on one side and the two of stone on the other. The former together were fifty-eight paces and the latter forty-eight and the height of the bridge was between them. The river Adige was the barrier during a truce between the French and Austrians, and the sentinels of the two nations were placed at the different ends of this bridge. From the Roman bridge I went to see the gate of St. George, which was attacked by the French, and through which they entered the city. The wall before the church had been battered in breach, and the front of the church and a house adjoining it were pitted with the marks of musket balls. The town was formerly strongly fortified but the walls were blown up by the French. In returning to the inn I saw the monument of Capidori Scaliger who is said to have played the tyrant after the time of the Romans. It was in the same inclosure with a monument of his father and uncle, the former of whom was stabbed on the public place.

30. Left Verona at eight o'clock and reached Mantua at one. Immediately procured a carriage at the post, for there were no hacks, and drove to the palace. It is spacious and most of it in good repair and many of the rooms ornamented from the pencil of Jules Romain.² Some of the rooms, however, are in a ruinous state and destitute of furniture. From one of these rooms we had a fine view of the bridge. We next drove to the museum which consists of a collection of ancient busts, bas-reliefs and statues and ancient inscriptions on stone. We had not time to attend to copying the

¹ Museo Lapidario or Museo Maffeiano.

² Giulio Romano, or Giulio Pippi (c. 1492-1546).

latter, but among the busts there were five of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, one of which was remarkably fine. There was also a fine bust of Sylla and one of Marius, as well as of Severus and his son Geta, but of all the busts, that which interested us most, was one of Virgil, the celebrated poet. Of this bust the face only was ancient, and had been found buried under the ruins of the ancient city. It is the only monument that rests at Mantua of Virgil. The face is open, benignant and intelligent. In the basso-relievos was the story of Medea, the story of Venus and Adonis, and the Sack of Troy — all very fine. From the museum we went to the Palace of T said to be named so from its shape resembling this letter.¹ This resemblance, however, I could not find, as the building appeared to me quite square enclosing a square court. The walls of many of the apartments were painted by Jules Romain in fresco. Among other things the "Fall of the Giants" was represented. The figures were indeed gigantic, but the coloring of many of them appeared much injured from time and defaced by rude and vulgar hands. We next visited the cathedral which is a fine church but overcharged with ornaments. It was built from a design of Jules Romain, but it is of a mixt architecture. We visited another church in which was said to be the "Madonna del Orto" by Raphael, but the ignorant people who conducted us appeared to know nothing concerning it, and indeed all the paintings in the churches at Mantua were in so bad a light that we had little satisfaction in looking at them. Mantua, as is well known, is situated in a sort of lake formed by the overflowing of the river Mincio. It is separated from the main land on the side of Cremona by a width of water of two hundred toises or fathoms, and on the side of Verona eighty fathoms. It is the strongest fortified city in Europe. Old Wurmser,² however, defended it in vain. We saw the house of Jules Romain, with a fine ancient statue of Mercury in front which the common people suppose to be St. John the Baptist. The bones of Tasso repose in the church of S. Egidio. Virgil is supposed to be a native of Mantua, but the better opinion appears to be that he was born in a little village a short distance from the city, called Pietoli or Andes.

31. We left Mantua at 7 o'clock and reached Cremona at six P. M. We had more rain this day than we had before encountered in all our way from Stockholm.

February 1. Left Cremona at nine A. M., passed Crema at half past two and reached Lodi at half past five. On entering this last

¹ The designation is apparently derived from the form of the roads which led towards the palace.

² Dagobert Sigismund, Comte de Wurmser (1724-1797).

place we passed the bridge over the Adda, rendered famous by the heroism of Bonaparte in 1796. At Crema we passed over the Oglio.¹ We had also much rain this day.

2. We went out immediately after breakfast this day to two of the principal churches and hospital. In the churches were some good pictures. The church of St. Maurice had, for a time, been called St. Napoleon, but it has now resumed its ancient name. The hospital is small but well arranged and apparently well administered. The professor of chemistry was particularly polite and gave us a treatise of his on the mode of making sugar from honey. We left Lodi at nine o'clock and reached Milan at half past three. The weather was this day fair. We stopt at the Hotel of Great Britain.

3. The first thing we did this morning was to take a carriage and a valet de place and to visit the cathedral. It deserves all the eulogy that has been lavished on it. It is entirely of white marble. We saw the celebrated statue of St. Bartholomew and we visited the tomb of St. Charles.² The shrine of this saint is infinitely rich, being of rock crystal and covered with precious stones. His saintship is laid at full length in his pontifical robes but his skull is bare, the cadaverous appearance of which contrast strikingly with the treasures which surround it. We ascended to the top of the church, but as the atmosphere was foggy, we ascended no further. From the top of the church, however, we had a pretty good view of the city, but the Alps and Apennines were not visible. The front of this church had been begun but not completed before the invasion of the French. Bonaparte caused it to be completed and corrected, as far as was possible, without demolishing the part already accomplished, the bad style in which it had been begun. The upper part of the front is made to correspond with the rest of the building. Bonaparte never allowed any part of the treasures or ornaments of this church to be touched. We next visited the amphitheatre or circus built by Bonaparte. The entrance is already of stone and the whole was intended to be of this material, but the seats are now of earth. The form is oblong. The greatest diameter is four hundred brasses or fathoms and the smallest two hundred. There are ten ranges of seats which were calculated to accommodate thirty thousand people. Around the great hall in entering were several paintings on the top of the wall and among them on opposite sides, the heads of Napoleon and Josephine. The Austrian government had caused the former to be deformed by a beard and the latter by a casque intending thus, perhaps, that they should represent Jupiter and Minerva. No, that government could from

¹ It was the Serio.

² Cappella San Carlo Borromeo.

its meanness have intended nothing but to deface the monuments of its own humiliation. From the amphitheatre we went to view the Arch of Triumph, which had been begun and for finishing which all the materials were prepared in a most magnificent style. This arch was meant to form the gate of the Simplon, and its bassorilievos commemorated chiefly the field of Marengo. It is said that the Emperor of Austria has been twice in person to view the arch and materials without having mind enough to come to a decision concerning them, and the work is suspended.¹ We next went to see the palace of Brera, which contains many specimens of the fine arts. Our attention was chiefly bestowed on the pictures which are from the pencils of most of the Italian masters. From the palace of Brera, which was formerly an establishment of the Jesuits, we went to see the convent of Sta. Maria,² formerly belonging to the Dominicans and where, in the refectory, is the celebrated "Last Supper" by Leonardo da Vinci. This picture is indeed much injured by time; the colors faded and the surface in many places peeled from the wall, but I could perceive no evidence of violence having been used towards it. Certainly there was no mark of pistol, musket, or cannon-ball on it, as there certainly would have been had it served for a target to atheistical French soldiers as Mr. Eustace³ asserts. I was indeed astonished to see that the face of our Saviour, after the assertion of the said renowned divine that the head was made a mark in preference, was without the least fracture or scale.

We afterwards visited the sixteen ancient pillars said to have been erected by Nero, and which are all that remain of antiquity at Milan. In returning to our hotel we stopt at the church of Celsius which had formerly been immensely rich, as the Virgin, who has an altar there, is said to have worked many miracles. The French are said to have taken away cart-loads of silver. The statues of Adam and Eve on the front of the church are very fine, particularly Eve. In the evening we went to the theatre of Scala and saw an opera and ballet. The former was called the Illisa.

4. We again visited the cathedral and admired its beauty. We then went to the richest shop or magasin in the place, which was full of curious and fashionable merchandise. We next went to the Ambrosian library where we first saw a fine collection of statues and paintings. Among the latter was a fine "Holy Family" by Luini, and a copy of the "Last Supper" by Leonardo da Vinci,

¹ It was not completed until 1838.

² Santa Maria delle Grazie.

³ John Chetwode Eustace, author of *Classical Tour in Italy*.

which we saw yesterday at the Dominicans. This copy was by Cesar Fiori, a scholar and contemporary of Leonardo and admirably executed and must have been equal to the original in all its beauty. The head of Christ was the finest I remember to have seen. This copy had itself been copied a few years since by the celebrated Joseph Bossi,¹ who was occupied, as the librarian informed us, nine months at the work. From this copy of Bossi another was made in mosaic by Raffaelli, which is the same we saw at the Palace of the Belvedere at Vienna. So the Reverend Mr. Eustace is as false in his predictions of the future fate of the admirable "Last Supper" of Leonardo da Vinci, as he is in his assertions relative to its past treatment. We next saw the most curious manuscripts contained in the library, particularly Virgil, with notes in the handwriting of Petrarch; a copy of Josephus in the handwriting of his scholars. We then went to see the hospital which is indeed a vast establishment worthy of all praise. In the evening we went to a little theatre to see curious puppets. I ought to have mentioned yesterday our visit to the Gate of Marengo, which was erected by Bonaparte, of granite, and is a fine arch of triumph. This arch had an appropriate inscription, but all is now changed and the gate is called the Gate of Ticino and the inscription is "Paci Populorum Sospitae." Near this gate begins the canal which Bonaparte caused to be opened between Milan and Pavia, a distance of more than twenty English miles. A passage on this canal between the two cities costs only ten sous. Besides this canal is of immense utility to agriculture and commerce.

5. We left Milan this morning at nine o'clock and stopt at one to see the famous chartreuse, which was suppressed by Joseph the Second.² It is about three-fourths of an English mile from the road. It is a most magnificent building, the entire front being of marble. The interior also is richly decorated by the chisel and the pencil, there being many fine paintings and much rich sculpture. There is a picture by Pietro Perugino, the master of Raphael. We were shown a very rich basso-rilievo and several small statues all made from tusk of the hippopotamus, which material preserves its whiteness much more perfectly than ivory. There is a fine monument in the church of John Galeas Visconti,³ but it is not well placed to show all its beauty. The original design was Gothic, but many pillars of Grecian and Roman orders have since been added. The fresco painting in this church is two hundred and sixteen years

¹ Giuseppe Bossi (1777-1815).

² Certosa di Pavia.

³ Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1347-1402).

old and very fresh. Four centuries are said to have been spent in decorating this church and the ornaments of the lower part of the front only had been finished when the order was suppressed. We arrived at Pavia at half past three and immediately went to see the College of Anatomy which contains some exquisitely fine preparations of the human form and its component parts. We also visited the college founded by St. Charles Borromeo. We next went to the old church¹ where the Lombard Kings were crowned and the round flat stone in the floor on which this ceremony was performed, was shown to us by a priest. We also visited the cathedral which is said to contain the club of Roland. St. Augustine is said to be buried in Pavia.² We walked to the bridge over the Ticino and were shown the scale for the inundations. It has frequently risen above its banks below the bridge and forced the inhabitants to seek refuge on more elevated ground. Before we arrived at Pavia we passed the battle ground where Francis the First was defeated and taken prisoner in 1525.

6. We left Pavia this morning at nine o'clock. We found the roads which we now travelled, from the late rains, to be rather heavy. Just before we reached Plaisance,³ we passed the river Po on a bridge-of-boats. Most of these boats were now high and dry, owing to the lowness of the river, but in the spring, when the river is high and full, they are all afloat. On the left bank of the Po is still seen some of the intrenchments on the field of battle, where the French, under the command of Macdonald,⁴ were beaten by the Austrians and Russians under Suwarrow.⁵ We reached Plaisance at six o'clock and found ourselves on the territory of Marie Louise, the Po dividing the Milanese from the Parmesan.

7. This morning we took a walk in Plaisance and saw the two celebrated equestrian statues in bronze of Alexander Farnese and his son,⁶ the former dukes of this place. We next went to the cathedral which contained nothing remarkable. We also viewed the front of the church belonging to the convent of Augustine. It is a fine front in granite of the Ionic order. We also saw the course which is said to be equal to any in Italy, and thence we went to see the ancient palace of the Dukes of Farnese, which appears never to have been finished and which now is going to ruin.⁷ The place

¹ Church of San Michele Maggiore, now the Basilica Reale.

² In San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro is his monument.

³ Piacenza.

⁴ Jacques-Etienne-Joseph-Alexandre Macdonald, Duc de Tarente (1765-1840). The battle, named from the Trebbia river, occurred June 17-19, 1799.

⁵ Alexander Vasilievich, Count Suvárov (1729-1800).

⁶ Alessandro (1546-1592) and Ranuccio Farnese (1569-1622).

⁷ Since 1800 they had been used as barracks.

of the ancient *balcona* was pointed out to us whence the conspirators precipitated Louis Farnese¹ after having killed him. The famous Alberoni,² Prime Minister to the King of Spain, was born in a hovel in this place and again lived in it after his disgrace. Pope Gregory the 10th,³ and the painter Jean Baptiste Porta were also born here. The place is reputed to be very healthy, and Pliny reports that in his time there were six persons of 110 years of age, one of 120 and one of 140. About nine miles from this place in the Apennines is a place called Campo Morto where Hannibal so signally defeated the Romans. At half past nine we left Plaisance. The ancient Via Æmilia began at this city and passing by Parma, Modena and Bologna, ended at Rimini. The modern road which we now travelled has been made on the foundations of this ancient way. After passing the village of Fiorenzuola we saw on our right the Abbey of the Citeaux which is believed to be situated near the spot where Sylla defeated the army of Carbo. We stopt an hour at the village of San Donnino upon the river Stirone. The ancient Julia Aisopoli⁴ is supposed to have been situated a few miles from this place, from the ruins which have been discovered there. About an English mile before we passed the Taro we saw in a small village an old square castle partly in ruins, which is called the castle of Guelfo, and is said to have given its name to the faction of the Guelphs.⁵ We passed the Taro on a platform supported between two boats. There were two branches occasioned by the middle of the channel being dry on account of the lowness of the waters. Both platforms were sufficiently wide to receive our carriage with four horses and another carriage with two horses, without unharnessing. Besides the Stirone and the Taro already mentioned, we passed this day several other small rivers, some of which were nearly dry. Among them were the Nura, the Chiavenna and the Arda. About six miles from the Taro we entered Parma. We passed also between Plaisance and Parma, the field of battle of the Spaniards some two or three hundred years since. At Parma we stopt at the inn called the Peacock which we found to be good.

8. This morning we began our excursions about half past nine o'clock. We first visited the Ancient Baptistery, a Gothic building of an octagonal form, containing an immense fount from a single piece of marble in which baptism was formerly conferred by immersion. We next entered the Church of St. John the Evangelist,

¹ Pierluigi Farnese (1490-1547).

² Giulio Alberoni (1664-1752).

³ Tebaldo Visconti (1208-1276).

⁴ Veleia? I do not find the name given in the text.

⁵ It is hardly necessary to say that this is not true.

which contains a "Descent from the Cross," and the "Martyrdom of St. Placide" by Correggio, a little faded but still excellent. We then visited the Cathedral, a very solemn temple of Gothic construction, but without elegance. The cupola was painted by Correggio and is considered as his masterpiece, but the light in which we saw it was so bad that its excellence was lost for us. We found a monument on the wall of this church inscribed to Petrarch, who was, it appears, an archdeacon here. From the Cathedral we proceeded to the palace where, while the ladies were viewing the toilette of Marie Louise, I waited on Count Neipperg¹ and delivered to him a letter of introduction of which I was the bearer. He received me very politely and voluntarily offered to present her Majesty, the Archduchess.² I then joined the ladies and found the toilette to consist of a large table with a grand mirror, two vases, velvet drapery, a large standing mirror with the marriage of Napoleon and Marie Louise in the frame, two elegant vases, and a pair of golden boxes on the table. The cradle of the King of Rome of silver-gilt with a balustrade of the mother of pearl, and a large chain of silver-gilt of such weight that I could with difficulty move it. From the toilette we proceeded to the museum. It consisted of articles discovered in the ancient city, Veleia, in the neighboring Apennines which was supposed to have been buried by an earthquake after Constantine.³ There was a large plate of copper inscribed with a contract between Trajan and some of the principal inhabitants, also a small plate of the Cisalpine Gauls, some statues, many fragments of household utensils and an assortment of ancient keys. From the museum we went to the Academy of Pictures, which is composed of those which had made the voyage to Paris. It was indeed a choice collection, containing among others a fine work of Raphael. After having spent an hour in examining this collection, we returned a little after twelve to our lodgings and found a note from Count Neipperg informing us that her Majesty would receive us at half past one. We had, therefore, scarcely time to prepare for this ceremony. At half past one we were punctual in our attendance and were most graciously received by her Majesty, and having passed about twenty minutes in her presence, [we] were informed by Count Neipperg, who attended us out, that we were expected to dinner at seven o'clock, and that we should receive a note accordingly. We had not been long at home before we received the promised invitation in due form. At dinner was

¹ Adam Albert, count of Neipperg (1775-1829).

² Marie Louise (1791-1847), now titular ruler of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla. Her marriage with Neipperg wasmorganatic.

³ It was overwhelmed by a landslip, A. D. 278.

the Archduchess, two maids of honour, Count Neipperg, another gentleman and ourselves. Mrs. Russell was placed on one side of the Archduchess and myself on the other. We found her Majesty very affable and well informed. She made many inquiries concerning the United States. She said that when she was at Leghorn she had wished to visit one of our line of battle-ships but that Commodore Chauncey,¹ whose name she well remembered, had sailed. She regretted very much the disappointment, as she had been informed that our vessels of war were kept in most excellent order. She asked me if we had theatres in America, and if English plays were performed there. Being answered in the affirmative, she desired to know if Shakespeare was liked there, and particularly mentioned his plays of Macbeth and Hamlet. She appeared indeed to be perfectly well acquainted with the works of this poet and with their character, and observed that she believed some parts must be omitted in the performance, as not fitted to the taste and manners of the present day. When I observed that in passing Verona I had seen the sarcophagus of Juliet, she told me she had also been there and that she had procured some fragments of the stone which she had caused a jeweller to cut in hearts and to set in gold. In short we had a very pleasant dinner, which consisted of the choice luxuries served on plate and porcelain in the most sumptuous way. We took our leave at half past eight but were first informed that we should be invited to a ball the next evening. Just before I went to dinner the governor of the place had done me the honour to call on me.

9. At ten o'clock this morning we went to see the famous printing office and foundry of the late Jean Baptiste Bodoni.² This establishment had successfully rivalled that of Didot at Paris, and had once obtained the prize there for the best types. The people of Parma are very proud of this distinction and they have almost apotheosized Mr. Bodoni. A painter has drawn him receiving the homage of the authors whose works he had published. Among them are the most distinguished writers of Rome and Greece. A plate of this picture was shown to us. Among other performances he had produced the Russian character in type of thirty different sizes very perfectly and for which the Emperor Alexander made a present to the widow of an elegant breast pin, an amethyst set with diamonds, which the good woman showed us. It is the type only of Bodoni which is excellent, his editions have been frequently found incorrect and the paper much inferior to that used by Didot.

¹ Isaac Chauncey (1772-1840).

² Giambattista Bodoni (1740-1813).

From the establishment of Bodoni we went to visit the library. It contains some valuable manuscripts which have been procured by Marie Louise. The librarian informed us that the translation of the classical tour of Eustace in Italy was translated and would soon be published. We next visited the church of St. Paul.¹ It is the church of the Court, but we found its paintings injured. We finished our morning excursion by a walk to the ramparts which, as the weather was remarkably fine, was delightful. On returning to our inn we found the invitations of the Countess Scampini, dame d'honneur, for the ball of H. M. this evening. I again went out this morning and called on the Governor. He treated me very affably, and upon my asking as delicately as I could if Marie Louise cherished any feeling for her husband and felt any interest in his fate, the Governor, premising his confidence in my candour and discretion, meaning, I suppose, that I would not make him responsible for what he should communicate, told me that there was not the least doubt that she took the warmest interest in the fortunes of her husband and felt for him a sincere regard. That these sentiments she frequently discovered when the mention of her child lead to the subject. That passionate as Bonaparte might have been, he had uniformly treated her with tenderness which she not only avowed but which had been confirmed by La Harpe with whom he had conversed on this point. The only displeasure ever displayed by Napoleon towards her was on her discovering a repugnance to holding frequently grand levees, and that this displeasure was very transitory and was not construed by her into unkindness.

After my return to my lodgings, I received a message from the Governor with a medal of Marie Louise struck on her arrival at Parma by Bodoni in silver.² About half past nine o'clock we repaired to the palace and found the company assembled, but that H. M. had not yet made her appearance. Mrs. Russell was conducted by a gentleman in waiting to her place, which was next on the right to the vacant seat of H. M. The seat of Amelia was next, to the right of Mrs. Russell. H. M. took the circuit of the hall, and having addressed individually every lady, took her seat. The ball immediately opened by H. M. and Count MacGavelin leading in a polonaise followed by the Grand Master, Count Neipperg and Mrs. R[ussell]. The rest of the company joined in succession. Immediately after her Majesty had resumed her seat, she sent Count Neipperg to request me to dance another polonaise with her. I of course assented, although my dancing days were long since past.

¹ Convento di San Paolo.

² Miss Rivers has just given this medal to the Society.

In the course of the evening she again sent Count Neipperg to me with the same message and I again danced the polanaise with her. She was both times wonderfully amiable and affable as we walked round the room and appeared to take great pains to amuse and to please me. The first time she told me that Count MacGavelin was an Irishman and counselled me to press him into a conversation. I took the hint and acted accordingly. I found MacGavelin to have come to this country about sixteen years since when he was at the age of sixteen years. He had risen to distinction in the service of Austria, and had been the first governor of the Parmesan for Marie Louise. He gave me much information concerning the country. According to him the Parmesan contains a population of about two hundred thousand. The country is fertile and produces amply sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants. There are no manufactures but everything of this kind is brought from Austria, the duties on the goods of other countries amounting to a prohibition. There are few fortunes in the country which amount to a thousand pounds per annum and only five or six which amount to four thousand pounds. The peasantry are wretchedly poor and live almost entirely on polenta or hasty-pudding, not allowing themselves even the addition of milk, as all their milk is appropriated to the dairy. He considered this food to be unhealthy and the cause of a disease¹ very prevalent, which first makes its appearance by inflammation in the hands, etc. This gradually increases during the first year. The second year the patient becomes insane, and the third year he dies. He considers the sovereignty of Marie Louise to be only nominal, and that her dominion depends entirely on her father, although he does not ostensibly and directly interfere; but the Austrian Ministers at Rome and Naples are also the diplomatic agents of Marie Louise. He appeared to be hostile to Bonaparte but said I should be astonished if I knew how many partisans he still had in Italy. The Italians hated the Austrian Government and would even prefer that of Sardinia. That Sardinia was indeed formidable to the Austrian power in Italy. That Sardinia had eighty thousand men well armed, and might overrun Lombardy when she pleased, there being nothing like a barrier on that side of the Adige, etc. At one o'clock we returned home.

The painters Lanfranco² and the Parmesan,³ were born at Parma. It was also the country of the famous conspirator Cassius.

N. B. Gave the Governor some American coins.

¹ Pellagra.

² Giovanni Lanfranco (1581-1647).

³ Francesco Parmigiano (1504-1540).

10. Left Parma at half past nine o'clock, passed Reggio at half past one. Saw there the Cathedral and the statues of Adam and Eve by Clementi.¹ The famous poet Louis Ariosto² was born at this place. Passed the fine bridge of the Secchia about four. Its banks witnessed much hard fighting between the French and the Austrians. We also passed the little fortified place of Rubiera and arrived at Modena about six o'clock.

11. Sallied forth this morning at 9 o'clock and first visited the Cathedral. We saw in the tower the celebrated bucket which is preserved as trophy over the Bolognese. There is much history connected with this bucket and a poem has been written about it.³ We went down into the vault under the tower which is supported on arches, below which are sprung other arches which support none of the weight but which are merely intended to ascertain if the mass sinks. The Cathedral contained nothing remarkable. We next visited the church of St. Dominique, which we found to be handsome, built in the shape of a Greek cross and containing some fine pictures. From the church of St. Dominique we went to the palace which had been built up by Napoleon. At the doorway were two statues by the famous Clementi, one of which was a Hercules. The suite of apartments which we saw were richly ornamented and furnished, and several rooms were adorned with excellent pictures, some of which had made a journey to Paris. There was a fine copy of the Night of Correggio, the original of which we had seen at Dresden. There were also many originals of the first masters: Guido, Titian, Caracci,⁴ Lanfranco, etc. We also visited the church of St. George which contained nothing remarkable and was very small. We left Modena at half past eleven and at half past twelve passed the river Panaro and got out of the carriage to view the arches of the bridge over it. They were two in number and remarkably fine. About a league further we left the territory of Modena and at Urbino entered the papal dominions. The Modenese contains about half a million of inhabitants and is governed by the Duke Francis the Fourth, of the old house of Este. We also passed the rivers Lavino and the Ghironda which join each other about nine English miles to the eastward and form a peninsula⁵ on which the

¹ Prospero Clementi (c 1510-1584).

² Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533).

³ Tassoni's "Secchia Rapita," which is said to have given Boileau and Pope the hint and the model of the "Lutrin" and the "Rape of the Lock."

⁴ Three of the name are known in Bologna, Lodovico (1555-1619), Agostino (1557-1602), and Annibale (1560-1609).

⁵ It was an island, three miles long and two miles broad, with the two villages of S. Viola and S. Giovanni.

triumvirate of Octavius, Anthony and Lepidus was formed. We reached Bologna at five o'clock.

12. The first place which we went to see this morning at half past nine o'clock was the church of St. Petronio. On the floor of this church is the famous meridian of Cassini.¹ It is graduated for all the days of the year, and through a hole in the roof the sun at noon each day, in clear weather, shines on the corresponding day in the meridian. It has inscribed on it "*Linia Meridiana MDCLVI. Ampliori formi renovata MDCCLXXVI.*" We next visited the two famous inclined columns. These columns were erected several centuries since by two noblemen of Bologna. The first erected his column, which from his name is now called Asinelli, three hundred and seven feet with an inclination of three feet and a half. His rival Garisenda began the other the year following intending to carry it much higher and to give it an inclination of eighteen feet. When, however, he had raised it one hundred and forty-four feet and given it an inclination of eight feet and two inches, the good people of Bologna became alarmed, particularly those in the neighborhood, and so strongly opposed the continuance of the work that it was abandoned.² From the columns we proceeded to the church of St. Bartolommeo fuori di Porta where we saw a beautiful Madonna by Guido. We next went to the church of St. Etienne in which is a marble column with an inscription that it represents that at which our Saviour was scourged. On a wooden cross over one of the altars another inscription declares [it] to contain a piece of the true cross. It was a busy day with the Catholics; at one of the confessionals a woman was confessing on one side, a man was waiting at the communication on the other, and a third was waiting with evident impatience in front. The church was anciently a temple of Isis; an inscription is still seen on the outside which was over the portal of that temple. From St. Etienne we went to the palace of Prince Ercolano. It has a fine entrance ornamented with statues of Hercules and four of the labours of Hercules, whence it may be supposed that the prince claims kindred with the demigod. We were ushered into a fine suite of rooms above stairs embellished with many fine pictures. Among others, Fortune, The Flagellation of our Saviour, The Adoration of St. Francis, and Psyche and Cupid, by Guido; a fine portrait of a lady by the Spanish painter Velasquez; Love carrying a swan to Leda, by Titian; Charity, by Fran-

¹ Gian Domenico Cassini (). He drew the meridian line in 1656, and it was renewed by Eustachio Zanotti in 1776.

² Modern guidebooks say that the Torre Asinelli is 320 feet in height and four feet out of the perpendicular, and the Torre Garisenda is 163 feet in height, but has an inclination of ten feet.

ceschini, etc. The young Prince Ercolani has married the daughter-in-law of Lucien Bonaparte. We then walked to the Academy of Fine Arts. Below we were shown a fine statue of the death of Virginia, by Professor Iacoma di Maria, a living artist.¹ The statue is said to have been much admired by Canova. We also saw below the modern prize pictures of the Academy, some of which were very good. On going upstairs we were shown in two rooms the finest, tho' not the largest collection which I had seen in Italy. By Guido there was Sampson, after slaying the Philistines, allaying his thirst from water streaming from the jaw bone of the ass, a St. Sebastian, fine tho' unfinished; a crucifixion; a portrait of a Pope, St. Andrea Cocini; Death of Christ, etc. by Louis Caracci; St. Matthew by Raphael; St. Cecilia and St. John. The latter, however, the Bolognese pronounced to be by Giulio Romano; The Martyrdom of St. Peter, by Domenichino, etc. We next went to see a little amphitheatre erected by Bonaparte for comedy in the daytime. It was, like all his works, tasteful and magnificent. It was left open at the top and capable of containing three thousand spectators. We saw in returning to dinner the palace of Enzo, King of Sardinia, who was taken prisoner by the Bolognese while he was conducting succour to the Modenese, their enemies. He was kept in captivity all his life, but was treated it seems with much attention. His tomb is in the church of St. Dominique. Here also saw the famous [fountain of the] Giant, so-called from a colossal figure of Neptune which presides over it. After dinner we went to the Cathedral and saw the Annunciation in fresco by Louis Caracci, a fine painting. The baths of Marius are about one and one-half miles from Bologna, but are a mere mutilated heap of ruins and we did not see them. We also contented ourselves with a distant view of the church of St. Mary of Luke on the mountain,² so called because the Virgin is said to be painted by St. Luke. We also saw the arcade which conducts from the city to this church and which consists of six hundred and ninety arches.

13. Went again this morning to the church of Petronio to examine the meridian of Cassini. In addition to the remarks of yesterday I found the following inscription on the wall at which the meridian ends below the winter solstice, viz:

Meridianae hujus liniae
tota longitudo
intra verticalem

¹ Giacomo di Maria (1762-1833).

² Madonna di San Luca, on Monte della Guardia.

et centralem solis radium
 in hyberno solstitio
 est sex centimillisima pars
 circuitus
 universae terrae

I made the whole length of the meridian one hundred and eight paces. The meridian is marked first "Punctum verticale" which is directly under the gnomon or hole in the roof; then on the left side of the line looking towards the winter solstice is marked "Signa Zodiaci ascendentia;" on the other side "Signa Zodiaci descendentia." In the middle

Horae Italicae Meridia
 Perpendiculari partes centissimae.

Then on the line first —

Solstitium Aestium
 Junii die 22.

This solstice is placed on the line at 36 and at fifteen hours and forty-nine minutes time. The whole line contains, in time, nineteen hours and eleven minutes. The whole graduation of the centissimae parts is one hundred and forty-eight from one extremity of the line to the other.

At ten o'clock we took leave of Bologna, and after travelling about seven miles we began to ascend the mountains and were obliged to strengthen our team with a pair of oxen. We proceeded with these oxen a few miles when we exchanged them for a pair of horses, which we kept until sunset. We then continued travelling with our four horses until seven o'clock when we stopt at a miserable inn at a place called Scaricalasino. There was not even milk there and we were obliged to wait an hour and a half until it could be brought from a distance which required this time. We found ourselves now among the highest of the Apennines, which are far inferior in sublimity and magnificence to the Alps. The wind was very high during the first part of the night, and we were informed that it blew sometimes with so much violence as to upset carriages on the road and to render it dangerous to travel.

14. We left Scaricalasino at eight o'clock this morning and had not proceeded a mile before we left the papal territories and entered those of Tuscany. About half past nine we stopt at a sorry inn and taking a guide we went more than a mile on foot through a rough and dirty path to view Pietra Mala where there is continually a flame issuing from the earth. We found the surface of the ground which this flame occasionally occupied, for it is not

constantly of the same extent, is about fifteen or eighteen feet square. It seems, according to what was told us, that the flame is sometimes suspended by high winds but never by the rains. Our guide was uncertain if it was burning this morning and stopt at a house on the way to take with him a small pot of coals, for it appears that when the flame is suspended the application of fire to the earth will immediately revive it. We found most of the spot, however, in full flame mostly of a red colour.¹ The stones were burnt black and the earth smoked, but we could not observe any other effect of the fire on them. The smell of the flame was something like ether, but more like electrical sparks. The flame burnt through the stones with a crackling sound, and would sometimes burst forth with this sound through places where it was not before visible. I produced the flame in several new spots by moving the surface with a stick. On returning to the inn we found that our coachman had sent for a couple of bottles of gas to a boiling spring which lay in another direction.² The mode of procuring this gas is by lowering the bottles empty and stopt with tow into the spring. We pulled out the tow and simultaneously applied a candle to the mouth of the bottle and the gas instantly took fire and continued burning until the bottle was full of water, which is continually poured into it from the time of drawing out the tow. The water falling to the bottom naturally forces out the gas which is specifically lighter above, and as the gas passes through the burning mouth of the bottle takes fire. After noon this day we found ourselves almost constantly descending and arrived at four o'clock at an inn called *Le Mascere*. This inn commands the view of a fine valley surrounded by the Apennines and was covered with olive trees, the first we had seen, and cultivated fields. We took a walk to the chateaux of a nobleman in the neighborhood which, though not magnificent, was very pleasant.

15. Left Mascara at nine o'clock this morning and about noon stopt for an hour to see the palace of *Pratolino* which formerly belonged to the Medici. The building was a venerable old pile but had no claim to beauty. The garden was laid out in winding walks and the small artificial lakes and cataract were very pretty. This cataract was set in motion for our amusement and our guide expected to see us astonished at the spectacle as if there had been no Niagara in the world. There was also near the palace a colossal statue of Neptune by John da Bologna which has been much cele-

¹ This place is known as Monte di Fo, and the flame *Fuoco di legno*. Laroousse says the flame is blue and in certain places red.

² The water is cold and is inflammable as alcohol. The fountain is called the Buia.

brated. It was in a posture between sitting and squatting, with one hand pressed upon a monster, which, when the fountain was in order, belched water. The whole, however, is now out of repair and apparently in decay. The statue if erect would measure, we were told, forty feet. After seeing this palace we resumed our journey and soon saw the spires of Florence where we arrived at half past two o'clock. We stopt at a hotel facing the Arno and called the Four Nations. It was the time of the carnival and the street in front of our hotel was covered with maskers. I immediately dressed and called on the Swedish Minister.

16. As my ready cash was low and as my letters of credit were addressed to no one at Florence, I had decided on going early this morning to Leghorn where I should find a banker. I had ordered horses accordingly and they had already made their appearance when a letter was handed to me by the servant from the Swedish Minister, who was not at home when I called yesterday, pressing me in so earnest a manner to defer my journey to Leghorn until after the carnival, that I dismissed the post-horses. At ten o'clock I called on the Chevalier Lagerswård, the Swedish Minister, and having frankly stated to him the reason of my intention of so suddenly visiting Leghorn, he very politely assured me that he should most cheerfully remove that reason. I showed him my letters of credit on Leghorn when he informed me that one of the banking houses to which I was addressed there had a partner established in this city who would undoubtedly make the advances I needed. To this partner he immediately addressed a letter in my behalf and on delivering it I instantly had all my wants supplied. The Swedish Minister afterwards returned my visit and Mr. James Ambrosi¹ called on me with a letter of introduction from Mr. Appleton, the American Consul at Leghorn. The maskers again paraded before our house this afternoon. At half past seven o'clock the Swedish Minister again called and accompanied us to the ducal palace where his Highness gave a great ball this evening. Before the ball began we were presented to the Grand Duke² who received us with great affability and made several inquiries concerning our journey and arrival. His form and face are in the same style of those of the rest of the family whom we have seen. The hall had just been fitted up and lighted with much taste by wax candles placed on half-round columns which diminished towards the top. When we first

¹ Agent for the United States at Florence, by appointment of the consul at Leghorn, and without public recognition.

² Ferdinand III, of Habsburg-Lorraine (1769-1824). He married Louise Amélie Thérèse, daughter of Ferdinand IV, king of Sicily.

entered this arrangement had a magnificent effect, but in a little time the different rows of candles, which were near three feet long, having heated those immediately above them, thus incapable of supporting longer their own weight, bent over and reversed their attitude, pouring the melted wax on everything beneath them. Many a fine gown and new coat bore the marks of this extraordinary shower. Several servants were employed in extinguishing the offending candles which were ultimately reduced to less than half their original number and the whole symmetry of the original arrangement entirely destroyed. The room was, however, still sufficiently lighted. We were presented this evening to the chief officers of the court and to most of the corps diplomatique. There was an abundance of ices, lemonades, etc., but no supper. The Duke Palatine,¹ a brother of the Grand Duke and his sister from Saxony, had arrived this afternoon and were present at this ball. Fifty or sixty English were presented en masse this evening.

17. The morning was very rainy and we remained at home, excepting a shopping excursion. At half past seven the Swedish Minister called on us and accompanied us to Louise de Stolberg, Countess of Albany.² This lady is from Mecklenberg-Strelitz and was married to the last pretender of the house of Stewart. She is said not to have conducted well towards her husband or to have lived happily with him. She is even said to have refused to see him as he requested on his death-bed. Her friends attempt to apologize for her conduct by accusing the husband of intemperance, but the more impartial find her in the wrong, and not only charge her with an improper connexion with the Poet Alfieri³ but even with the Cardinal York, the brother of her husband.⁴ She appears now to be about sixty and is much distinguished for her *esprit* and accomplishments. From the house of the Countess we went to a ball given by the nobles at their Casino. We found here as everywhere else at Florence shoals of English. The Grand Duke, his

¹ Archduke Joseph (1776-0000), who married Alexandrine Paulowna, daughter of the Emperor Paul of Russia.

² Louisa, Countess of Albany (1753-1824), daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, prince of Stolberg-Gedern, and wife of Prince Charles Edward Louis Philip Casimir (1720-1788), son of the Chevalier de St. George. Lord Broughton, who saw her in 1816, described her as "a fat old woman with blunt features and a coarse voice" and "vastly good-natured, at least for a Princess, which she affects not a little to be." *Recollections of a Long Life*, II. 69.

³ She eloped with Vittorio Alfieri, and openly lived with him as his mistress. She had separated from the Prince in 1777.

⁴ Henry Benedict Maria Clement, Cardinal York (1725-1807). He gave shelter to the Countess of Albany, when she had left her husband, and allowed Alfieri to have access to her.

son,¹ and the rest of their family² made their appearance about nine o'clock. There was a plenty of dancing and a scarcity of refreshments. Some of the gentlemen played pool at the billiard table in an adjoining room. We were informed that contrary to former custom some of the lower order of nobility had been this night admitted to the Casino.

18. I received a letter from Mr. Appleton at Leghorn in which he informed me that he had in charge four letters for me which he considered too bulky for the post but did not urge me to make an excursion to Leghorn to receive them. A little after noon we went to what is called the Uffizi, where according to custom the maskers were to throng this day, but the weather being rainy their number was very small and we saw nothing wonderful. At six o'clock we went to dine with the Swedish Minister, and found there Lord Burghersh,³ General Mackenzie, etc. After dinner they gave us the singing of Madam Copali, whom we had heard in Sweden and who is a Swede by birth. She sings remarkably well. A little after nine o'clock we returned home and at half past ten went to the theatre to see the masked ball. We first went into the box of Madame Frulani, the wife of the Minister of Finance, and the sister of Mr. Ambrosi who had been so attentive to us. We afterwards, at the urgent instance of the Swedish Minister, went into his box for the remainder of the evening. We took a walk among the maskers but saw very few in character. The Swedish Minister's box was in the lowest range and while we were in front of it the ladies were accosted by an Englishman who was in the character of a poet and which he performed with sufficient eccentricity. We learnt afterwards that it was a person by the name of Scroop. At half past twelve we returned home.

19. This morning the Swedish Minister and his lady called on us by appointment and accompanied us to make calls on some of the other members of the diplomatic corps, among others the French,⁴ Austrian⁵ and English Ministers. We also called on the Grand Master of Ceremonies. Mrs. Russell had her teeth arranged this morning by the famous dentist Buzzei. The Swedish Minister called in the evening to attend us to the theatre but we declined going as we felt a disposition to repose.

¹ Leopold II (1797-1870).

² Marie-Louise (b. 1798) and Thérèse (b. 1801).

³ John Fane (1784-1859), Lord Burghersh until 1841, when he succeeded his father as Earl of Westmorland.

⁴ Chevalier de Vernégues is given in the *Almanach de Gotha*, but Comte Dillon is mentioned by Russell more than once as the minister of France.

⁵ Comte Antoine-Rodolphe Apponyi (1782-?).

20. I took a walk this morning with Mr. Ambrosi and made several trifling investments. At half past eight o'clock in the evening we visited the Countess of Albany and assisted, agreeably to an invitation which she had given us, at a tea-party. We met there a very select party, among whom was the Prince Borghese¹ and his mistress the Duchess of Lante. We had been presented to them at the Grand Duke's and had afterwards seen them at the Casino of the nobles. They appeared to be disposed to treat us with marked attention. The Prince, however, has treated his wife very ill. She was Bonaparte's sister, Paulina,² and now lives separately at Rome, and he lives at Florence in a most public manner with the Duchess above mentioned. He is called her cavaliere servente and here there appears to be no scandal annexed to this kind of connexion. When indeed I spoke of her to others she was uniformly called a most charming and respectable woman. Indeed this species of gallantry, notwithstanding all that Eustace says on the subject, is as common as ever, and a lady sinks in her own estimation and loses a portion of her consideration in society who cannot appear with her cavaliere servente. The want of this appendage is ascribed to some defect concealed or apparent in the mind or person. At ten o'clock we left the Countess of Albany and proceeded to the hotel of Count Dillon,³ the Minister of France, who had invited us to a ball this evening. We found there the same company which we had seen at the tea-party with a few in addition. Count Dillon emigrated soon after the commencement of the French Revolution and entered the service of England in which he continued for about twenty years. He told me he was one of four brothers who had crossed the Atlantic in favour of American Independence. He did not indeed reach himself the United States, having been wounded on the way at Grenada. One of his brothers was guillotined⁴ and another was drowned. The General⁵ that was massacred at Lille was a cousin. I also met here an Irish Lord Dillon of the same family.⁶ I had known this Lord in England who was then, however, only the Honorable Colonel Dillon. He is now violent in favour of the opposition, and is upon the whole a

¹ Camillo Filippo Ludovico (1775-1832).

² She was the widow of General Leclerc when the Prince married her.

³ Edouard Dillon (1751-1839), son of Robert Dillon, of Bordeaux. He was the Minister of France at Dresden.

⁴ Arthur, Comte Dillon (1750-1794), guillotined at Paris, was the son of Henry, Count Dillon and Charlotte Lee.

⁵ Theobald Dillon (1745-1792), brother of Arthur, Comte Dillon.

⁶ Henry Augustus Dillon-Lee, Viscount Dillon (1777-1832), was eldest son of Charles, Viscount Dillon and Henrietta Maria Phipps, daughter of Constantine, Lord Mulgrave.

most eccentric man. I also met this evening with a very interesting Italian, the Marquis of [] who had long been in the diplomatic service of Prussia. About midnight we returned home.

21. This morning received very unexpectedly a call from Thomas Bartlett of Boston who had just arrived from Rome. We spent the remainder of the morning at home. Called at nine o'clock on the Swedish Minister and lady, and went at ten to the masked ball at the theatre which we found to be very crowded, all the rooms being open and filled. This evening Amelia masked and we became acquainted with the Count Solaro della Margarita, secretary of the Sardinian legation at Naples, who appeared to be a well informed young man.

22. Called this morning on a gentleman from Demerara¹ and inquired after my old friend Madame Dusart; also called on Mr. Bartlett and walked with him to the Sotto d'Uffizi, but were too late to see the maskers. At half past five went to dine with Lord Burghersh. The party was small consisting of Lady Salter, Sir William Paine and five others, — all English. I handed in Lady Burghersh and enjoyed her conversation until the dessert when she was suddenly taken ill with fainting and was obliged to leave the table and the room. This was owing to her situation. From Lord Burghersh's we returned home in a short time and then went to a ball at the Grand Duke's. We found less company there than on the former night and this diminution was almost entirely at the expense of the English which did not render the party the less agreeable. I was, this evening, presented to the young Duke and had considerable conversation with him. He is in truth rather a dull young man. We returned home at twelve o'clock.

23. Went this morning to see the maskers Sotto l'Uffizi and found the crowd very great. They dispersed, however, about half past two. At half past three they thronged on the quay before our inn. At half past four went in our carriage to the Corso, and found a great number of carriages, some of which were very elegant, particularly those of the Grand Duke and the Prince Borghese. The latter was accompanied as usual by the Duchess of Lante. Mrs. Russell and myself had now seen enough of the carnival and decided not to go to the ball this evening, but Amelia was actuated by a different spirit and placed herself under the protection of the lady of the Minister of Sweden and again went to the theatre.

24. Mrs. Russell was confined this morning with her teeth. I attempted, however, to take a walk with Mr. Ambrosi to the Cas-cine, but was arrested on my way by the rain and was obliged to

¹ Faber. Page 431, *infra*.

take refuge in the church of a Franciscan Convent. I then returned home and having dressed went to dine with a gentleman from Demerara by the name of Faber. He is a very considerable planter in that Island and from him I learned several interesting particulars concerning the colony. Our dinner lasted until near nine o'clock. After it was over I called, with the Swedish Minister and the ladies, on the Countess of Albany and thence we went to pass the evening at [] where I was engaged in a game of whist.

25. I called this morning to see Thomas H. Perkins, the son of Thomas H. Perkins of Boston, but I was told that he was not at home. I afterwards went with Mrs. Russell and Mr. Ambrosi to the gallery, but some of the ducal family being there the doors were shut against strangers. We then went to the palace of the Prince of Mozzi¹ and saw many fine pictures. That, however, which pleased us most was one painted at Florence by [] portraying Napoleon Bonaparte, receiving after the battle of Austerlitz the oath of the Saxons. The scene is represented by moonlight and torchlight, and exquisitely painted. The likeness of Bonaparte is very good and there is also the likeness of Murat, five or six marshals, four pages, etc., all taken from the life. We next went to the church of St. Lorenzo. This church is very rich, but like many of the Italian churches has never been finished. It contains the tombs of the Medici and marble monuments of some of them by Michael Angelo. These monuments are also unfinished. From the church of St. Lorenzo we went to the church of Santa Croce. This is a very ancient building of bad Gothique but very interesting for the monuments which it contains. Among others are the monuments of Galileo, the famous astronomer; Aretino, the poet; Machiavelli, the historian and civilian. His epitaph begins with "Tanto nomini nullum par elogium." There is also a monument to the late poet, Alfieri, raised to him by his particular friend, the Countess of Albany.

28. Our attempt to visit the gallery this morning was more successful. We entered it at eleven o'clock and remained till half past one. We did not, however, see one half of the wonders which it contained, not even the Venus of Medici. The corridors contain many fine ancient busts and statues, which we passed very rapidly. Among the rooms which we afterwards entered, that which contains the group of Niobe and her children is particularly interesting. The story is the vengeance of Apollo, and the passions of anger and dismay are admirably depicted in the several statues. One only is yet dead and one wounded. The dead figure is perfect,

¹ Mozzi-Carolath.

but the wounded one had suffered mutilation, and the head and an arm are modern, which undoubtedly alters the whole character of the man and renders his appearance very tame. He hangs his head now like a narcissus. The figure of the mother and the youngest daughter, in one piece, and the eldest daughter, at the other end of the room, are supposed to be by one artist who is supposed to have been Scopas. In another room we saw an admirable Magdalen by Carlo Dolci. In still another room was a fine Assumption in chiaro oscuro, by Fra Bartholomew.¹ There was a room of portraits of all the celebrated painters by their own hands. We had time this morning to visit a part of the rooms only.

27. We repaired to the gallery again this morning but found the doors again shut against strangers on account of the presence of the Grand Duke and family. To indemnify ourselves for this disappointment we went to the Physical cabinet, where we saw not only a very valuable collection of specimens from the different reigns of nature, but a most wonderful collection of anatomical preparations in wax. This collection indeed is said to be the finest in the world. Besides these anatomical preparations in wax there were numerous representations of vegetables, fossils, etc., in the same material. We next visited the Academy of Arts where we saw some very good productions of modern artists and a very great number of casts of the productions of the ancients. Among these were casts of the Elgin marbles which had been made a present to the Grand Duke by the Prince of Wales. From the Academy we proceeded to the rooms of Morghen, the celebrated engraver.² We saw specimens of most of his performances. He is considered the first engraver in the world, but he sometimes multiplies his impressions to such a degree as to give very imperfect copies and thus to run the hazard of injuring his own fame. We found a young gentleman from New York named Main³ studying the art with Morghen. At three o'clock we obtained admission into the palace of Pitti and saw the several apartments containing a most precious collection of pictures by the first masters, particularly of Raphael and Titian. I had felt a bad cold all day and in the evening I was so sick as to be obliged to stay at home. Mrs. Russell and Amelia, however, visited the Countess of Albany and the Countess of Santini.

28. I continued very ill with my cold this day and kept house and even my bed almost without intercession. My headache was unutterably painful.

March 1. I was somewhat better this day but still continued

¹ Baccio della Porta, called Fra Bartolomeo de S. Marco.

² Raffaello Sanzio Morghen (1758-1833).

³ William Main. See Stauffer, *American Engravers*, I. 169.

too sick to go abroad. Amelia, however, visited some of the churches with Madame Lagerswärd and Mrs. Russell visited in the evening Mrs. Graham and went a little while to the theatre.

2. I found myself this morning well enough to accompany Mrs. Russell and Amelia with Mr. Ambrosi to the gallery of paintings and saw the apartments containing the Venetian school and that containing the celebrated Venus of Medici. In this last room are several pictures of Raphael exhibiting in a striking way his three different manners. We received a call this day from Mons. and Madame Lagerswärd.

3. At half past eight o'clock this morning we set off by an extra diligence for Leghorn. At eleven we passed Casciano¹ and Mr. Ambrosi, who was with us, told us a remarkable instance of fraternal animosity. The father had left his estate equally to two sons, who proceeded to the division, and whenever an article was found which had no exact match or counterpart they literally cut it in twain without any regard to the injury or even total destruction of the article. At last one of the brothers was found murdered, and the survivor, who had often been heard to declare his intention to get rid of the deceased, was naturally suspected of being the murderer. He has, however, for want of proof hitherto escaped punishment. At half past twelve passed San Miniato.² The church in this place contains the tombs of the ancestors of Napoleon Bonaparte who were patricians. At half past four o'clock we passed Pisa and arrived at Leghorn at half past seven. Stopt at the Aquilla nera — black eagle — a very tolerable inn.

4. This morning had an early call from Mr. Appleton, the consul, and received our letters from America. After breakfast we took a walk with him to see the harbour. We found there an Algerine cruiser turned bottom upwards to be caulked. We afterwards left the quay and mounted an eminence in its vicinity which commanded a view of the sea whence, although the weather was not very clear, we distinctly saw the Islands of Corsica, Elba and Capraja; the two former so celebrated as the cradle and prison of Napoleon. On this eminence we saw the subterraneous vaults contrived for the preservation of corn and pulse from the insects. They consist of caverns completely walled and floored with brick through which neither air nor moisture can penetrate. These vaults have a small circular opening at the top of about two feet or two feet and a half diameter, which are closed by a cover on which the earth is thrown to the depth of two or three feet which brings it on a level with the surface of the earth. This as Mr. Appleton

¹ Cascina, on the Arno.

² San Miniato al Tedesco.

expressed it is hermetically sealing them. The philosophy of the contrivance is the complete exclusion of the air which prevents the insect from generating there and kills him if already in the commodity. For want of air he crawls to the top of the mass and there perishes. We took a ramble about the streets of Leghorn which we found to be well built and thickly populated city, having an air of activity and business. We stopt at a large magazine of alabaster and made some small purchases of vases and lamps. Mr. Appleton dined with us, and in the evening I accompanied him and Mr. Ambrosi for a short time in the box of a Mr. Coat a Scotch banker and heard Mallenotta and Bernanotta sing.

5. A call this morning from Mr. Appleton and having breakfasted we took leave of Leghorn at half past eight, Mr. Appleton having very politely handed me a letter for Canova and Trentanove. We reached Pisa at noon and remained there two hours during which time we visited the Cathedral, the inclined tower, the cemetery, etc. The Cathedral contains some fine statues and paintings. The inclined tower or campanile torto is one hundred and eighty-eight feet high and is ascended by one hundred and ninety-three steps. We had no desire to mount it as it has a frightful appearance varying from a perpendicular fifteen feet. There is a difference of opinion respecting the cause of this inclination, some ascribing it to design and some to the sinking of the earth. Whatever may have been the cause it is evident that it is occasioned by the foundation being no longer on a level. On one side there are three steps of about a foot high each, on which rest a pedestal of about two feet and a half. These steps not only diminish and disappear under the earth as they circle round the tower, but on the opposite side the whole base of the column and a part of the shaft are buried in the ground. The cemetery or Campo Santo is a magnificent Gothique marble arcade forming a square and containing many tombs of the inhabitants of Pisa. There are also many antiquities of Grecian, Roman and Egyptian origin. The walls are painted in stucco and among other subjects "The Last Judgment of Dante" is painted. The blessed look sufficiently contented and the damned sufficiently miserable. The devils and the angels appear to perform parts equally important, and there is a contest between two individuals of these different orders for the embodied spirit of a priest. In returning to our inn we passed the famous tower in which the celebrated Count Ugolino was confined whose fate has been strangely avenged by the imagination of Dante. We only saw the top of the tower which appears to be an isosceles triangle, the bottom being covered by a dwelling house of which it seems to form a part. We left Pisa at about half past two and arrived at Lucca at five where we found a

good inn. Lucca contains twenty thousand inhabitants, and the territory seventy thousand.

6. Left Lucca at half past eight o'clock and reached Pistoja at two. We remained there two hours in which time I called with Mr. Ambrosi on the Governor who treated us with a cup of coffee and a glass of Rosolio. He is Count Fanlom. He told me that Pistoja is very ancient; that its inhabitants took part with Catiline in his conspiracy and that he was defeated by Antony in this neighbourhood. He likewise informed me that Pistoja has very [much] decreased in population, that it has still sufficient habitations for the comfortable accommodation of twelve thousand persons, but that the actual number of inhabitants does not exceed ten thousand. The neighbouring country, however, he stated to be very populous. We left Pistoja at four o'clock and arrived at Florence at nine.

7. Called this morning on Baron Lagerswärd. Soon after received a call from him and his lady. Dismissed this morning our waiting woman Francesca for impertinence, intemperance, indolence, and dishonesty. Had a call about three from Robert Goodloe Harper,¹ who announced himself as General Harper of the United States — much disappointed in his manners and appearance. The Emperor of Austria and his suite arrived at five o'clock this afternoon and the town was illuminated in consequence of that event this evening. At half past seven we ordered our carriage and rode round the city to see the sights. It was on the whole rather a shabby illumination. The palace of the Prince of Borghese had the most splendid appearance. Mr. Ambrosi accompanied us on this excursion. My cold although much better is still troublesome.

8. Went this morning to the gallery of pictures and again saw the apartment of the Venus of Medici. The first manner of Raphael is exhibited in a portrait; his second manner in two pictures of the Virgin, Jesus and St. John; and his third manner in a Pope, his mistress, and St. John in the wilderness. We also visited the Dutch school this morning and the cabinet of precious stones. In this last an onyx vase was shown worth at least \$100,000. From the gallery we went to the Church of Annunciation and saw in the corridor a picture of the Virgin and Son in fresco, which is very much admired and which it is said Titian specially visited Florence to see and that it exceeded his expectation. From the church I went to call on Count Neipperg but did not find him at home. I then went with Mrs. Russell and called on Madame Lagerswärd. After setting Mrs. Russell down at our inn I went ashopping and bought a trunk

¹ (1765-1825). He was a member of the United States Senate at this time, and owed his military rank to service in the war of 1812.

for three dollars. I then called on Mr. and Mrs. Harper. Dined at home. Called with Mrs. Russell and Amelia on Mrs. Harper and then went to the theatre and saw poor acting.

9. Went this morning after breakfast to the gallery and saw again the Venetian school; the room containing antiquities; the fine Mercury in bronze; the group of Niobe; the Dutch and French schools; the room containing the Venus of Medici, etc. In going to the gallery this morning I stopt at a manufactory of swords and asked the price of one which I wanted and was told it was seven franceschonis.¹ Upon demanding the very lowest it was six and one-half. I offered six which was refused, and I walked on intending to return after seeing the gallery and to take the sword at six and a half. I accordingly went again to the manufactory at three; pointed out the very sword which I had seen in the morning and requested the manufacturer to do the little that was still wanting to finish it. This he did and when I was directing the servant to take it, and had taken out my money to pay for it, I observed the price asked was six and one-half franceschoni but was most astonished to hear the manufacturer assert that it was seven and one-half franceschonis. My valet de place affected to be as much surprised as myself as he perfectly remembered that in the morning the highest price asked was seven franceschoni and that the sword was actually offered afterwards for six and one-half. For my own part, revolting at such bare faced fraud and falsehood, I left the sword where I had found it. This singular effrontery is not, however, peculiar to this sword manufacturer. Some days since I ordered some shoes to be made for Mrs. Russell and had very distinctly agreed to pay for them six francs the pair. When he had made the shoes and brought them home he insisted that I had agreed to pay ten francs.

At five o'clock we accompanied the Baron Lagerswård to the palace of Marie Louise. We found Count Neipperg in waiting. The ladies were first introduced. After they had come out the gentlemen were introduced. These consisted of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Interior, the Minister of Finance, and the diplomatic corps. Her Majesty received us en circle, that is, we stood in form of a crescent. The order was as follows: The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mons. Fossombrone; the Minister of England, Lord Burghersh; the Minister of France, beaux Dillon; the Minister of Interior, Prince Corsini;² the Minister of Finance, Mr. Frulani;³

¹ The francescone was a coin of Tuscany, worth about 45 centimes, but there is no mention of the coin of the text.

² Thomas Corsini, Prince of Simismeno (1767-1856).

³ Leonard Frulani (1756-1824).

myself; the Minister of Sweden, Baron Lagerswärd; the Chargé d'affaires of Portugal, Mr. Quinn; the Chargé d'affaires of Russia, Mons. Svertchhoff; the French, English, and Austrian secretaries. Her Majesty addressed each individual. With the Minister of England, whom she had seen before, she conversed very gaily, but when she addressed the Minister of France she was evidently embarrassed, cast down her eyes and appeared sad. She merely inquired of him after the Duchess of Berry,¹ whom she said was her cousin but had never seen her. Of me she made inquiries concerning our journey; whether we had yet found a vessel for the United States; where our vessels of war were, if we arrived during the carnival; if we had been to the ball of the Grand Duke; if we were going to Rome for the Holy Week; said it was said it would not be so gay as usual as the Pope would not pontificate but one or two days, etc. I spent the evening at home with Mrs. Russell but Amelia went with Madame Lagerswärd to a ball at Madame Le Blanc's.

10. We began this morning to make our arrangements for packing up. I went at twelve o'clock to see the Baptistry which is a very ancient building and by some said to have been a temple of Mars. The doors of this building are very celebrated and were said by Michael Angelo to be worthy of being the gates of Paradise. They were made by Ghiberti, father and son. At five o'clock Baron Lagerswärd called and took me with him to the Palace Pitti to be presented to the Emperor and Empress of Austria. No ladies were this day presented. Count D'Apponyi, the Minister of Austria did the honours of the day. The Grand Chamberlain of the Emperor and the Grand Master of the Empress were in the ante-chamber and the members of the diplomatic corps were presented to them with one *unaccountable exception*. The Emperor received the members of the diplomatic corps in succession. The English Minister and his secretary, first entered; then the French Minister and his secretary; then the Danish Minister,² who has no secretary; then Baron Lagerswärd and myself. After us the Portuguese Chargé d'affaires and the others in the same order as yesterday. The Emperor remembered me and asked many questions concerning my journey hither and the voyage to the United States. He inquired after Mrs. Russell and expressed an expectation of meeting us at Rome. After leaving the Emperor we proceeded to the apartments of the Empress and were presented to her in the same order.

¹ Marie-Caroline-Ferdinande-Louise de Bourbon, Duchesse de Berry (1798-1870), daughter of Ferdinand I. She married in 1816 the Duc de Berry, nephew of Louis XVIII.

² Baron de Schubart.

She was very courteous, inquired after Mrs. Russell and the child, etc. In the evening we went to the theatre until half past ten.

11. We went this morning to the gallery and spent an hour in the apartment of the Venus of Medici. We met there Mr. Harper and his wife with young Mr. Taylor. We afterwards took a ride with our little one to the Cascine. At five we went to dine with the Baron Lagerswärd. At seven we went with him to the theatre. About eight the Emperor, Empress, Marie Louise, Grand Duke, etc., made their appearance. There had been every arrangement made to secure them a distinguished reception. All the fauteurs of Austria among the rabble had been allowed to enter gratis and a host of police officers were placed in the pit for the purpose of applauding. Still, however, the applause was so feeble that the voice of the police officers in the pit, directing the covered to take off their hats was very distinctly heard. The Emperor and Empress first appeared and after they were seated Marie Louise slid silently to her place near them. This mode of proceeding was believed to be entirely at the direction of the Emperor. While at Venice the daughter had so notoriously engrossed every expression of public regard that the father could not conceal his chagrin. He therefore resolved here to keep her as much out of sight as possible. Notwithstanding all this a murmur was distinctly heard in the pit, after Marie Louise was discovered, "Ecco la Napoleonide."

12. At ten this morning we went in company with Mrs. Hall and Madame Lagerswärd to visit the reclusio, which is an establishment for the support of the indigent. It is very spacious comprising two ci-devant convents. Begging publicly is forbidden in Florence and the beggars have been taken up and those who were able to work were placed in the reclusio. Many of the mechanic arts are here taught and carried to great perfection. The first room which we entered contained very small female children employed in knitting woolen hosiery. We successively on the female side passed through rooms containing winders, and weavers of silk and linen. On the male side were manufacturers of carpets, cutlery, etc. There were at first about two thousand people confined here but the number is now reduced to about nine hundred of which three hundred are females and the rest males, — chiefly boys and girls. The reason of this diminution is that those who are discharged as capable of managing their own affairs and providing for their own subsistence, greatly exceeds the number of recruits that the actual state of mendicity at Florence supplies. For whenever any of the workmen have given sufficient evidence of good conduct and declare a wish to leave the place they are permitted so to do, but if afterwards they should be detected in begging they are imprisoned and

punished. To encourage them while they are in the reclusio one-third of the net proceeds of their labour is appropriated to their use, that is, one-half of this third is placed to their absolute disposal at once, and the other half is placed in trust to constitute a fund for their support in old age. This institution would exclusively deserve praise were it not sometimes abused for unjust purposes. As the government of Tuscany is entirely arbitrary there are instances of persons, who were not mendicants or poor, being confined here on the denunciation of their enemies or what is still more horrid at the instance of their relations and even of their fathers. After leaving the reclusio we returned to our inn and then took a walk to the gallery but could not get in as the Emperor was there. We then took a walk to the Cathedral and afterwards called on Mrs. Harper¹ but she being sick we were not received. We then dressed and took a ride to the Cascine and at five o'clock went to dine with Mr. Graham and lady. The Swedish, Danish and Portuguese Ministers were of the party. In the evening we went to the Pergola and were invited into the box of the Marquis of Corsi where we took ices and other refreshments. The Marquis was charged this evening with the police of theatre.

13. We went this morning to the gallery and were again refused admittance as the Imperial Family were there. We afterwards rode to the Cascine and in the evening went to the Pergola and saw the opera of Othello. The singing and music were very fine but the acting was very bad.

14. We were very busy this day making arrangements to leave Florence. In the morning at eight o'clock, however, we visited the Cathedral and saw in it some of the fine works of Michael Angelo. Generally, however, we were not pleased with the interior of this church. We next went to the house of Signor Buzzei who had a few choice pictures by the first masters; among others the Visit of Alexander to Diogenes, by Salvator Rosa, and the Virgin, Jesus, St. Joseph and another saint by Titian, — small but excellent. I next went to leave my cards P. P. C. with the persons from whom we received attention at Florence. I called with Mrs. Russell on the Countess of Albany, the Marchioness of Santini and the Duchess of Lante. The two former only we found at home. We received a visit from Madame Lagerswärd and Madame Graham. In the evening we went to the theatre to take leave of the Baron Lagerswärd and his lady who had been particularly attentive to us. The Baron gave us several letters of introduction to Rome and Naples

¹ She was a daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and married Harper in May, 1801.

and the Duchess of Lante sent us a very flattering letter to the Princess Chigi at Rome. It is well to remember that whenever we visited the theatre we had seats in the box of the Baron Lagerswärd.

15. At eight o'clock this morning we left Florence with a *veturino* for Rome. We stopt at noon at a small town where we found a family in their carriages also travelling towards Rome. We reached Levane at five o'clock where we found a very bad inn and very ungracious hosts. It was not until after the arrival of the family which we overtook at noon that we were allowed to take possession of the rooms which suited us. The chief of this family proved to be a Russian Admiral ¹ who, together with his lady, was very polite and insisted on our having the apartments which we wished, but which had been before refused us having been ordered by an *avant courier* for him.

16. We left our inn this morning without regret, at seven o'clock, having first eaten a bad breakfast. We arrived at Arezzo at twelve and stopt to dine just beyond the town. While dinner was preparing I took a walk into the town and saw the remains of an amphitheatre built in the time of the Romans. A part of the circuit is covered by the church of Olivetains but the rest is very conspicuous but in a very ruinous state being a few feet only above the surface of the earth. In a vault beneath the ruins the figure of a man painted in fresco was shown me, but I could not learn from my guide when, by whom, or for whom it was painted. Arezzo was the birth place of the celebrated Maecenas the patron of genius. After dinner we proceeded on our journey and arrived at Cammucia at five o'clock where we stopt for the night. I immediately took a walk to Cortona, the ancient Corytum, one of the twelve principal Etruscan cities. It is situated on a hill of pretty steep ascent in the immediate neighbourhood of Cammucia. I regretted that it was too late to see the ruins of an ancient temple of Bacchus and of some baths ornamented with mosaic, as well as the tomb which is still shown as that which covers the remains of the imprudent, unfortunate consul Flaminius. As the Russian Admiral had again commanded rooms for his family at this inn which was small, it was not until his arrival that we could obtain lodgings.

17. Left our inn at seven and passed the boundary line which divides the dominions of the Grand Duke of Tuscany from those of the Pope. At the papal custom-house they contented themselves with leading ² our baggage, to which I consented in order to avoid a dispute and to save time. At eleven we passed the lake called by

¹ The name is given in a later entry — Morzwindoff.

² Sealing with lead.

the Romans Trasimenus, by the modern Italians Perugia, and by the French Pérouse. It is a delightful sheet of water, surrounded by hills and a well cultivated country, and celebrated by the defeat of the Romans under their consul by the Carthaginian General Hannibal. We also passed the little stream called Sanguinetto, said to have received this name from the blood of the Romans with which it was swelled and discoloured on that occasion, altho' others suppose the battle to have taken place where the little village of Ossoja now stands, as many human bones have been there found. The Sanguinetto is a small brook, even at this season, and must be nearly or quite dry in summer. After passing the lake we ascended a very elevated hill which gave us a fine view of the country which we had passed. We dined at one o'clock and then proceeded to Perugia where we stopt for the night. Perugia is placed on a mountain of considerable height and from the castle on the top we had a most extensive view of the adjacent country. We also visited the church of St. Pedro,¹ but it was too dark to see the paintings to advantage. We this night found a comfortable inn and the Russian Admiral with his family lodged at another inn.

18. Breakfasted this morning as usual at six thirty and began our journey at seven. We soon passed the Tiber on the bridge of St. John, and at ten a little town called Spello where we saw the ruins of an ancient amphitheatre. At half past eleven we stopt at Foligno to dine, where we met again the Admiral and family. I went immediately with Mrs. R[ussell] to see the famous picture of the Virgin in her glory by Raphael. We left Foligno at one and soon after² passed the little temple dedicated by the Romans to the river Clitumnus on whose banks it stands. This edifice appeared to be nearly entire and beautiful for its simplicity, but the lower part was about ruined in something like a mill-dam. We reached Spoleto at half past four where we stopt for the night. We immediately went to view the famous aqueduct which crosses a deep valley between the town and the mountain Maroggia. Along this aqueduct is a narrow bridge for foot passengers. It is six hundred feet in length and three hundred feet high supported by several ranges of small arches one above the other. This work with the valley and the Maroggia which is covered with houses almost to the top, presents one of the most enchanting views we had ever witnessed. We next visited the Cathedral where there is a fine picture of Correggio. We then passed to the other extremity of the city to see the gate which is called the Porta di Fuga and at which we arrived by the Via de Annibali. The origin of these names

¹ San Pietro de' Cassinensi.

² Near Campello.

is said to have been the precipitate retreat of Annibal from before this place which he had besieged after his victory over Flaminius and which he expected would have surrendered without much resistance. But the citizens made a resolute defence and by a vigorous sortie compelled him suddenly to abandon his enterprise. Near the Porta di Fuga is the remains of an ancient bridge consisting of three arches, one of which only is entire, and which is now called the Bloody Bridge, as it is said to have been the place of execution of no less than seven thousand Christian martyrs. The Admiral stopt this night within the walls of Spoleto and we lodged in the suburbs just without the walls towards Rome and we fared extremely well.

19. Left our quarters at seven and reached Terni at eleven. We immediately took a calash and went to visit the famous cataract of Marmore. We proceeded two or three miles along the road in the carriage when we left it, and turned through the field along the river on foot for about two miles further. The descent at first was very considerable and in places very rough. Just before we arrived at the falls we met the Admiral and his family on their return, and as they had taken jackasses for their accommodation they very kindly offered us a couple for our accommodation. We would consent, however, to take but one. A few minutes afterwards we arrived at the falls and our expectations were much disappointed. We viewed them from below. The water, which forms a mere brook of about twenty feet wide, appears to fall over the brow of the opposite hill, or, as it is called, mountain, and its first perpendicular descent is said to be two hundred feet, tho' to the eye it seemed less. The stream is called the Velino and is said in all to descend one thousand and sixty-three [feet], but to us the rapids below the first fall had nothing interesting. There was certainly mist enough to have formed rainbows had the sun been in a proper position, but we saw none. To us who had seen the great falls of Niagara the cascade of Marmore appeared a wretched dwarf. We returned to Terni, which was formerly called Interamna, being between the two branches of the Nera, to dine. Mrs. Russell and Amelia took turns in riding the jackass the Admiral had furnished. The Admiral had, from a fear of highwaymen, with which this country abounds, provided himself with a military escort of four dragoons, and he politely invited us to keep him company and share in the protection. We accordingly set off together after dinner. Terni, or Interamna, was the birthplace of the Emperor and of the historian Tacitus. In passing Narni the ancient Nequinum, the streets being rather narrow our driver very carelessly drove us against the iron grating of a window and broke one of our lanterns

and injured one of the arms of our carriage — chastisement little satisfaction. We reached Otricoli, anciently Oriculum, at half past five. Oriculum is thirteen leagues from Rome but the Emperor Constantine is said to have believed on leaving to be entering that city, as the whole distance was at that time crowded with magnificent buildings and splendid monuments. We this night slept at the same inn as the Admiral, and fared rather poorly but as well as our companions.

20. We left Otricoli about six o'clock and about half after nine passed Civita Castellana, where Alexander the sixth built a palace which looks like a castle, and which has been used as a prison of state. This town is situated on a steep hill or mountain on which formerly stood, but not precisely in the same place, the ancient city of Fescennium, the capital of Falerii. It was before this town that Furius Camillus had been for nearly two years besieging it in vain, when a schoolmaster who had been entrusted with the children of the principal inhabitants betrayed his trust and delivered his pupils to the Roman general who, disgusted with this meanness and treachery, caused the betrayed scholars to scourge their pedagogue back into the town, which so pleased the besieged that they immediately surrendered the place. We reached the small town of Nepi about half past eleven where at the recommendation of the Admiral we consented to pass the remainder of the day, as Baccano, the place where we had been destined by the vetturino to lodge, was reputed to be unhealthy. There is a considerable aqueduct of modern date at Nepi but nothing else worth seeing.

21. We left Nepi at six o'clock with an escort of four dragoons, who ranged themselves successively by the side of the four carriages. These dragoons were relieved regularly by the same number of others at the distance of five or six miles. The country from Nepi to Rome we found to be poorly cultivated and sparsely inhabited and without one vestige of antiquity to attract our attention. We discovered Rome at a distance of five or six miles by its towers and domes but we did not see the dome of St. Peter's until we had got a mile or two nearer, as it was concealed by high ground on our right. We arrived at the Eternal City by the Gate of the People about three o'clock and passed the custom-house without trouble, as we were considered as part of the train of the Russian Admiral who had provided himself with a free pass. We first stopt at the Hotel of La Grande Europe, but not being able to obtain apartments there we drove to that of La Grande Bretagne where we were tolerably accommodated tho' much to the dissatisfaction of Amelia. Being fatigued we did not go out this evening.

22. This morning about eleven o'clock I called by mistake on the Prussian Minister supposing that the letter addressed to Mr. Bartholdy the Chargé d'affaires of Prussia.¹ The minister, however, received me very politely. I next called on the Dutch Minister² for whom I had a letter from Baron Lagerswärd which I delivered to him and received in return the usual tender of service. He engaged to present on Thursday next to the Cardinal Minister Gonzalvo. After making these calls I went, with my valet de place, in search of other apartments till dinner time but without success. I renewed this search after dinner with the same bad fortune. I saw many things this day en passant, viz.: The Palace of Louis Bonaparte, Madame Letitia, Doria, etc., the Mount Quirinal and the statues there of Castor and Pollux with their horses and the obelisque, the column of Trajan, etc. In the evening I found myself very unwell with a cold and went to bed at eight o'clock.

23. Although very sick this morning I again went out after lodgings and at length succeeded in finding some which suited but for which thirty Louis d'or per month was demanded. It was necessary to take them or run the risk of having none, as those I occupied at the Grande Bretagne were engaged to others after the first week. I therefore took them and agreed to sign the contract on the morrow. I called on Mr. J. G. Joy at half past three at the Grande Europe and found him at home, with three other young Americans among whom were a Mr. Gibbs and a Mr. Smith. Finding myself very ill after dinner I went to bed at half past seven.

24. I felt myself somewhat better of my cold this morning, and I received the agent of the woman whose apartments I had engaged in order to execute the contract. In any other country I should have been surprised to discover that the instructions he had received varied essentially from the terms of the contract which I had made. He was authorized to lease only a part of the rooms for twenty-five Louis and not the whole for thirty. After a long discussion in which I peremptorily refused to take less than the whole he went for new instructions and returned saying I might have the whole provided I took them for two months instead of one. This I categorically refused to do and expressed my indignation at such equivocation and declared that I considered the negotiation at an end. He then requested me to wait half an hour until he should again consult his principal. I told him he might act as he pleased but that I should consider myself entirely free. He returned, however, within the half hour and the proprietor, having agreed to the

¹ The sentence is incomplete. The Prussian minister was the historian, Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831).

² Baron de Reinhold.

terms which were first contracted between us the contract was executed accordingly. While this business was proceeding the wife of the Russian Admiral with her two daughters called on us and I proposed an excursion to Tivoli on Friday. At half past twelve I went with Mrs. Russell to make several calls on persons for whom we had letters, the Princess of Chigi, letter from the Duchess of Lante; the Princess of Barberini, letter from Ambrosi; the Marchioness of Greca, letter from Baron Lagerswärd; Col. Bonar and lady, letter from Major Weiss. We afterwards rode to the church of St. Pierre where we remained two hours. The most curious thing which we saw on the inside was a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus turned into St. Peter. The hands and head were new but the toes of the right foot of the old Jove, which projects a little beyond the pedestal, have been worn quite smooth by the labial taste of the worshippers of St. Peter. After dinner we took a ride on Mt. Pincio and through the course to Mount Quirinal and viewed the obelisk and statues of Castor and Pollux which stand before the Pope's palace. On the base of one of these statues is an inscription denoting it to be the work of Phidias and on the other the work of Praxiteles. We spent our evening at home.

25. As I had an engagement this morning with the Dutch Minister to accompany him at noon to wait on the Cardinal Gonzalvo¹ I did not go out before that time, but Mrs. Russell went to the church of St. Maria de Minerva to see there a ceremony at which the Pope² was present. The Dutch Minister came at the time appointed and I went with him to the palace of the Quirinal, but before we arrived there we fell in with the cortège of the Pope and actually appeared to make a part of it as we passed all the guards with their arms presented. There is considerable pomp in the movements of his Holiness. He is too infirm to ride the white mule as usage requires but this animal is led before. The Pope is placed with four of his officers in a splendid state coach in the Spanish form. His two postilions ride without their hats with their hair powdered. A troop of cavalry, all young noblemen, make a part of the escort. Two or three carriages follow. To a considerable distance from the palace the street was lined with infantry on each hand with a very full band of music. The troops are all dressed in the French military fashion and make a very different appearance from the papal forces thirty years since. On arriving at the palace we found unfortunately that the Cardinal Gonzalvo had not returned with the Pope from the ceremony of St. Maria. I left my card and returned to my hotel with the Dutch

¹ Ercole Consalvi (1777-1824).

² See page 450, *infra*.

Minister who spent some time with us. Before he had come in the morning a Mr. Cobb of Boston called and left cards for his wife and the Miss Inches.¹ About one we had a visit from the Princess of Barberini (Chiara) and her husband who staid half an hour and made us repeated offers of the most obliging services. Soon after they were gone Major Sommerville came in and remained some time. After his departure we all called on Lucien Bonaparte but found nobody at home. We left our names but not our cards and then drove to the church of St. Maria Maggiore on the Mount Esquiline where we remained until dinner time. The colonnade in this church is really magnificent. It consists of thirty-six Ionic Grecian pillars and four granite pillars of the same order. On our return home we found cards from Col. Bonar and his lady with a note from the latter. While at dinner we received a card from Lucien Bonaparte. I spent the evening at home.

26. The Russian Admiral and his lady called on us this morning and definitely arranged a party for Tivoli to-morrow. Soon after, as Mrs. Russell was busy, I went alone to see the Coliseum and the ruins of temples and triumphal arches in its vicinity. While I was absent Doctor Heap² and Messrs. Barnard and Robinson of Virginia called on me. I wrote this morning to Consul Hammet³ of Naples to inquire the probability of obtaining a passage from that port for the United States. Called on the Cobbs and the Inches this morning and found them at home. At eight o'clock we went to take tea with the Minister of Holland, and at half past nine went from thence to the house of the Princess Barberini where we remained until eleven. Here we found a specimen of Italian conversazioni. There were about twenty persons assembled, and all excepting half a dozen, in which was included the mistress of the house and ourselves, play at cards. One table was of faro and one of Boston.

27. Agreeably to the arrangement which we had made yesterday with Admiral Morzwindoff we this morning a little before nine o'clock set off for Tivoli. Our party consisted of the Admiral and his family, a Russian Count and his companion, and a Russian colonel and his lady who, with us, amounted to ten persons, besides five or six servants and two dragoons who escorted us. The country between Rome and Tivoli is very thinly inhabited, very

¹ Probably daughters of Henderson Inches of Boston, and sisters of Henderson Inches, Jr., who married Susan Brimmer, sister of Martin Brimmer, Mayor of Boston.

² Samuel D. Heap, a surgeon in the United States Navy, and director of the American hospital at Pisa.

³ Alexander Hammett of Maryland, appointed 1809.

flat, and until we approach the Villa of Adrian without any interesting remains of antiquity. About four miles from Rome we passed the Teverone, anciently the Anio, flowing towards the Tiber into which it falls about three miles above Rome. About ten miles from Rome we passed a small stream called Solfatara from the qualities of the waters which compose it, its color and its smell being derived from the presence of sulphur. The former is of a light bright greenish blue and the latter is so strong as to assail the traveller at a considerable distance. We did not visit the small lake from which this stream flows and which is also called Solfatara. We left it about three-fourths of a mile on our left. A little farther on we passed the tomb of the ancient family of Plautia, a family much distinguished both in republican and imperial Rome. The tomb is quite round and formed of the stone of Tivoli. Of the four Ionic columns which formerly ornamented this tomb towards the road there remain only some fragments. It unfortunately proved to be a rainy morning and in ascending the hill of Tivoli we were obliged to walk as one of our horses was very restive. Tivoli is said to have been built four hundred and sixty-two years before Rome or three thousand, one hundred and thirty-three years ago. Its founders are said to have been three Argians: Tiburtus, Coras, and Catillus [II] who drove away its more ancient inhabitants, the Siculi. From the name of the first of these the town was called afterwards Tibur, and the Roman road which led from it to the capital was called the via Tiburtina. Tibur has, however, by the modern Italians been changed into Tivoli. We stopt at a very good inn in the middle of the town, and before dinner went to see the cascade. This is a perpendicular fall of about fifty feet and had nothing particular to distinguish it. The river is here, I should judge from the view, about thirty feet broad. It is only at the bottom of the fall that the romantic commences. After the downright fall the water still descends very rapidly and has forced its way through the mountains forming sometimes a frightful chasm and sometimes caves at once gloomy and sublime. The first cavern is called the Grotto of Neptune and the second that of the Sirens, the latter being the most interesting. We went round the town and descended the hill below the Grotto of Neptune to a little zigzag path made by the French engineer Miollis.¹ This path was made in consequence of the fall and death of a Frenchman in endeavoring to descend. As it began again to rain we hurried back to our inn, just seeing the little temples of Vesta and of the Tiburtine Sibylla near the bridge. The former is a very beautiful small, round build-

¹ Sextus-Alexandre-François, Comte Miollis (1759-1828).

ing formerly surrounded with eighteen Corinthian columns of which ten still remain. We did not go out after dinner and much to our annoyance our chambermaid, whom we had taken at Florence, was discovered to be extremely intoxicated.

28. Rose this morning at six. Breakfasted and began our rambles at half past six. As the way was wet and rough and the distance we were going considerable we had provided ourselves with jackasses. We first passed over the bridge below the falls, then turning to the left above the river we had a fine view of the caves and grotto of Neptune and the Sirens and of the rapids below the falls. We had also a fine view of the cascates as they are called or little cascades on the opposite side of the river. They are little streams diverted from the main flood near the falls, and after having been used for mills, forges, etc., fall over the top of the mountain to a depth of more than a hundred feet. These little streams are very beautiful and three of them fall from the ancient country house of Maecenas. We passed on our way the ruins of the Villa of Catullus and the ruins of the Villa of Quintilius Varus. Some remains also of the country house of Horace were pointed out to us. We next passed a little clear stream called Aquoria, gold water, on an ancient bridge still entire. Inclining to the left we next passed the Teverone (Anio) and soon after arrived at the ruins of the Villa of Maecenas. These ruins are still very spacious and give an idea of the original magnificence of the place. We walked under the arch of more than a hundred feet in length through which the ancient way Tiburtina passed. The way itself in this place is still perfect. We then ascended a flight of steps which conducted us over this arch on which we found an immense terrace and which was more than one hundred and thirty of my paces in length. From this terrace, which stands on the very brow of the mountain, there is a most extensive prospect commanding a view of Mount Soratte, the city of Rome and all the champaign country on that side, etc. From the Villa of Maecenas we returned to our inn but found that our breakfast which we had ordered *à la fourchette* at eleven o'clock was not yet ready. We went to view the Villa of Este which is kept in tolerable repair. It was here that Ariosto composed at least a part of his *Orlando Furioso*. After breakfast we set off at about half past eleven for Rome but stopt nearly three hours at the Villa of Adrian which we visited in all its details. It was said to have had formerly a circumference of seven miles, and among the heaps of ruins can now be distinguished the remains of a Grecian theatre; of a square building supposed by some to be a *ménage* and by others a portico to the theatre; of the Poecile in imitation of that at Athens, of what is now erroneously called the temple of

the Stoics; of the circular building erroneously denominated the Maritime theatre but probably a bathing house; of the Library and the Temple of Diana and Venus *so-called*; of a large elevated building called the Imperial Palace; of the barracks of the guards or the Hundred Chambers, *cento camerelle*; of the Thermes and of the Canopus in imitation of the Canopus at Alexandria in Egypt. Many of the fine marbles found here have been sent to Rome and many in the dark ages were converted into lime. There still remain, enough however, to give an idea of the ancient immensity and magnificence of this villa. About three o'clock we mounted our carriages very much fatigued and arrived at Rome a little after six.

29. Agreeably to appointment the Dutch Minister called on me at ten o'clock this morning in order to accompany me to the Cardinal Gonzalvo to whom I was to be presented. We found however, on our arrival at the Quirinal Palace that the Cardinal was already engaged with a consistory of his order for the confirmation of Bishops. He sent word, however, that he would receive us to-morrow. I now employed myself in removing from the Grande Bretagne to lodgings which I had taken in the Via de Prefetti No. 17, and I accomplished this undertaking in about an hour. I then went to take an external view of the Capitol and Tarpeian Rock. The modern Capitol stands on the same site as the ancient and rests in part on the old foundations. It is, however, in every respect infinitely inferior. In front of the Capitol are two marble statues of Castor and Pollux with their horses, and although ancient, very indifferently executed. In the middle of the place, however, is an equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, of exquisite workmanship, and is the more interesting, as it is said to be the only equestrian statue which remains of ancient Rome. The Tarpeian Rock is very different from what it was of old. There is only part of one side of it which now remains visible, the rest being covered above by buildings and below by earth. The part now visible is now about twenty feet high. It is probable, however, that the whole perpendicular height of the rock was anciently at least sixty feet, as a floor of a church in the neighbourhood is said to be on a level with the ancient base, and a part of the top of the rock is said to have been broken off.

30. At ten o'clock this morning I was, at last, presented to the Cardinal and found him remarkably polite. He speaks French very fluently. I went again this day to visit the Capitol and the Tarpeian Rock with Mrs. Russell. We also saw behind the Capitol the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, the Temple of Fortune, the Temple of Concord, the Arch of Septimius Severus, the column

erected to the Emperor Phocas, etc. In the evening I went to a *conversazione* at the French Ambassador's, the famous Count Blacas.¹ I found his lady very pretty and very amiable.

31. The Dutch Minister called on me this morning and conducted me to the Quirinal Palace in order to present me to the Pope.² After passing a numerous suite of apartments richly furnished and lined with guards, we were immediately admitted to the Pope in his cabinet. He received us standing and in the most gracious manner. On my being presented the Pope very kindly took my hand which he held constantly in his while I remained with him which was nearly a quarter of an hour. He was dressed in a white gown or surtout which sat close to his body and which reached from his chin to his feet and which buttoned the whole length with small buttons of the same white broadcloth. On his head he had a callot [*calotte*] and on his feet crimson red cloth or velvet slippers embroidered with gold. The surtout was considerably soiled. No other part of his dress was visible. He does not speak French but understands it when addressed to him and answers in Italian. He observed that I belonged to another world and that the last director general of the Austin Friars was an American. His Holiness is now seventy-six and even infirm and much bent for that advanced age. His mind is however, perfectly clear; his conversation animated and his smile the most benignant I ever beheld. I went afterwards with Mrs. Russell and Amelia to see the paintings à fresque and the statues in the palace of Frescali and Frescatelli. The paintings in the former fell short of our expectations, but those in the latter, being the history of the marriage of Psyche were very fine, being partly painted by Raphael and all under his direction. There was a fine head in black chalk or coal on one of the walls concerning which our guide told us the following story:— That one day, while Raphael was still employed in painting the Frescatelli but while he was absent Michael Angelo came there and taking a piece of coal drew on the wall the head in question. Raphael had never seen him but knew him well from his fame and his works, and immediately on seeing this head pronounced it to be the work of Michael Angelo. We next went to the work-shop of Canova³ and Thorwaldsen.⁴ They were neither at home but we left a card for the former and a letter. We admired much the works of both these artists. Canova has and deserves the highest reputation for statues, but Thorwaldsen, although not

¹ Pierre-Jean-Louis-Casimir, Duc de Blacas d'Aulps (1770-1839).

² Luigi Barnaba Chiaramonti (1740-1823), Pope Pius VII (1800-1823).

³ Antonio Canova (1757-1822).

⁴ Bertel Thorwaldsen (1770-1844).

much known until lately, is supposed even to excel in bas-reliefs. In the evening we had a visit from Canova who staid with us until eight o'clock and was very entertaining. He talked much of his familiarity with Napoleon and left us at no loss to discover his sentiments on all that happened. After Canova had gone we called on Prince Lucien and his Princess,¹ and staid with them an hour and were very politely treated.

April 1. We went this morning to the Vatican and first viewed the pictures kept there. These are not numerous but they are of unequalled excellence. The Transfiguration by Raphael, and the Deposition from the Cross by Michael Angelo, are of themselves worth a gallery. We next passed into the Museum where are collected the finest statues, capitals and vases of antiquity. There is also an immense number of ancient inscriptions fixed on the wall. Among the statues are the celebrated Apollo and the Laocoön. Canova has made a present to the Pope of three of his master-pieces, viz., the two Pugitotosi, and Perseus with the Head of Medusa. They are indeed admirably executed. After spending more than two hours in these apartments we ascended to view the School of Athens, painted in fresco by Raphael, and which is considered as his most finished composition. The colouring was somewhat injured by time and humidity, but the performance was still sufficiently perfect to command our most unqualified admiration. Plato and Aristotle occupy the front ground, and Socrates, Diogenes, etc., have conspicuous places. Mrs. Russell, who had been indisposed all the morning, was here taken quite ill and we were obliged to return, when she immediately went to bed and called in the assistance of Doctor Heap, a physician in the American Navy, and whom we found to be well educated and skillful. A call from the sculptor Trentanove.²

2. Mrs. Russell still continues very ill this morning. Trentanove called again this morning and I accompanied him to his workshop. He appears to be a young man of much promise in his profession. He has already executed in a very handsome style the busts of most of the Bonapartes. He has also made the bust of Thomas Appleton, the American Consul at Leghorn, and of Robert Goodloe Harper, another American, both of which are finely done. Trentanove is now engaged in making a pedestal in basso-rilievo for the monument of Washington which we saw in the workshop of Canova. After leaving Trentanove I called on a Mr. Knutson and the Prussian Consul Bartholdy, for whom I had letters, but

¹ She was a Madame Jouberton, who had been his mistress.

² Raymond Trentanove (1792-1832).

not finding either of them at home I left the letters with cards. I then went to the Palatine Mount and saw the ruins of the Palace of Nero which had been cleared out by the French and into which I descended two stories under ground. At five o'clock I went to call on the Cobbs and being in the Corso with Amelia we saw the Emperor of Austria pass. The Corso was crowded with people to witness this spectacle, but they did not salute His Majesty or Her Majesty, who accompanied him, with a single shout or cheer. A few, a very few, lifted their hats. Everyone was sad and silent. The Emperor with his suite were in seven state coaches of the Pope. His travelling carriage followed.

3. Mrs. Russell somewhat better this morning but still in bed. I rode this morning to see the arch, called Janus Quadrifrons. From the meanness of the architecture it is supposed to have been erected at least as late as the time of Caracalla, formerly in every part of Rome, particularly in the Forums, and they are said to have severed for shelter for the people in rainy weather. The Janus Quadrifrons was near the Forum Boarium. Close by it I saw a little gate-way or arch erected by the Emperor Septimius Severus. On one side in bas-relief, were the figures of this Emperor and his wife, on the other the figures of his two sons, Caracalla and Geta. That of Caracalla only now remains, and he is said to have had that of his brother, after he had murdered him, torn off, and a hole is still shown in the marble which was said to have been made by the act of violence. We had a call this afternoon at five o'clock from Lucien Bonaparte and his lady, and they staid with us half an hour, and the Princess went and sat beside the bed of Mrs. Russell. At half past six I went with Amelia to dine with Col. Bonar, where we remained until ten.

4. Mrs. Russell better this morning but still in bed. At twelve o'clock I went to see the baths of Titus, which, it being Sunday, I found shut. I then rode round the Mount Palatine and saw the remains of imperial palaces and the caserns of praetorian guards. I passed between the Mount Palatine and the Aventine, and went to see the Temple of Vesta, near the banks of the Tiber, which is said to have been built by Numa Pompilius. The columns must, however, [have] been added at a much later time. It is a small round building. I also saw near it the square temple erected by Ancus Martius to Fortuna Virilis. This building is now made a church and is partly covered with dwelling houses. I next saw the small ruin which remains of the bridge of Horatio Cocles. From this place I went to the Vatican and again saw the pictures, inscriptions and statues. Just as I was leaving the Vatican, a little before four o'clock, the sound of cannon announced the movements of the

Emperor of Austria, and I found that he was on a visit to the Church of St. Peter. A call from the Grand Master of the Pope.

5. Mrs. Russell was better this morning but still too ill to venture abroad. I therefore took Amelia with me in the calash and first drove to the circulating library, then to the workshop of Trentanove and engaged him to procure some prints for Mrs. Russell; then purchased a bonnet for Amelia; then called on the Dutch Minister, who was not at home, but his wife received us. She told us that the reason why a woman she had sent to us was not willing to remain with us was because she saw that we had a fire and that our windows were shut and she hence was afraid of falling sick. From the Dutch Minister's we took a ride round the Mount Palatine, going between it and the Mount Aventine. We passed the Coliseum and stopt at the Baths of Titus. These baths with palace to which they joined were of immense extent, but a great part of the ruins are now covered with earth. It appears that Raphael who had the superintendence of antiquities, caused a great part of these ruins to be cleared and that it was from the arches painted en fresque, some of which remained very entire, that he conceived the idea of his third manner. It is even said that fearing others should profit by these paintings as he had done, or at least discover from them that his third manner was not entirely original, he caused the rooms he had cleared to be again filled with earth. In later times it was the French who made the excavations which now leave some of the apartments free of earth. On the vaults of the lower story we saw several paintings en fresque most wonderfully preserved for about eighteen hundred and ten years, and from their grace and colouring we were not surprised that Raphael should have known how to profit from them. There were also some paintings on the wall very perfect. In a long narrow vaulted portico was an inscription in black paint still visible threatening anyone who should do a dirty thing there with the anger of Diana, Minerva, and Jupiter Maximus Optimus. The room of the common bath and that called the lake, and the rooms of single baths were readily recognized. The niche was shown us from which was taken the famous statue of Laocoön. Part of the Bath was built over the house of Maecenas, some of the rooms of which are still visible. From the Baths of Titus we went to the Quirinal to take a look at the obelisk and the fine statues of Castor and Pollux. While there I left my cards with the Grand Master of the Emperor and the Grand Master and Mistress of the Empress. We then rode to St. Maria Maggiore and saw the fine colonnade in this church, consisting of forty columns, viz.: thirty-six of marble and four of oriental granite, twenty on each side. Received this evening tickets to the Pontifical Chapel.

6. We were kept in this morning by calls from Mr. Bartholdy, Consul General of Prussia, Mr. Rathbone of New York, the Miss Inches, and the wife of the Minister of Holland. At two o'clock we got into the carriage with Mrs. Russell and first drove to the Baths of Diocletian and Maximian. Of all the thermes of ancient Rome these are said to have been the largest and to have covered a square of ten hundred and sixty-nine feet on every side. Besides Baths it contained edifices for gymnastic exercises, the Pinacotheca which was embellished with the finest works of painting and sculpture, and with the library of the wise Ulpian which was transported thither from the Forum of Trajan. On a part of the place formerly occupied by the principal hall of the Baths of Diocletian, now stands the church of St. Maria degli Angeli. It is in form of the Grecian cross and built by Buonarrotti. To avoid the humidity, the floor has been raised six feet higher than that of the ancient church by which the bases of the columns of oriental granite are covered. Notwithstanding this, however, we found the floor so wet and the whole place so damp that we took only a glance at these fine columns and the tombs of the celebrated painters, Carlo Maratta and Salvatore Rosa, when we hastened out into the open air on account of the delicate state of health of Mrs. Russell. We next rode to the bridges which join the Island of the Tiber to the mainland. The origin of this island is very remarkable. After the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, the senate is said to have made a present to the people of the goods and estates of this king, against whom the people were so much enraged that they threw into the river all his effects, among which was such a quantity of wheat which he had harvested on one of his fields, afterwards the Campus Martius, as to obstruct the course of the river and form a little island which was afterwards preserved by a stone wall. From these bridges we distinctly saw the Temple of Vesta of which I have already spoken, and the outlet of the Cloaca Maxima. This last is entirely concealed by the Tiber excepting a very small space below the top of the arch. We also saw the bridge which is now called Ponte Rotto, or broken bridge. It was the first stone bridge erected over the Tiber and said to have been begun by the Censor M. Fulvius and certainly finished by the Censors Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius. It was called the Palatine on account of its proximity to the mount of this name. It has been broken three times by the inundations of the Tiber. It was first repaired by Julius the Third, and afterwards by Gregory the Thirteenth, but since it was last broken in 1598, it has not been repaired, and only about the half on the right side of the river now remains. We saw also a few small heaps of ruins in the river which were formerly a part

of the foundations of the Bridge Sublicius. This was the very first bridge built over the Tiber by the Romans and originally consisted entirely of wood. It was erected in the time of Ancus Martius and it soon became very memorable by the heroism of Horatio Cocles who withstood alone the whole army of Porsenna the King of the Etrurians or Tuscans, until the part of the bridge behind him was destroyed and then leaped with his horse into the river and swam to the city. The bridge was afterwards repaired without nails that it might be the more rapidly demolished, should another occasion require it. This bridge was afterwards called *Æmilius*, because it was rebuilt in stone by M. *Æmilius* Lepidus, the last Censor under Augustus, after the wooden bridge had been destroyed by an inundation of the Tiber. It was repaired by Antoninus Pius and afterwards carried away by the overflowing of the Tiber in the year 780. Under Pope Nicholas the Fifth the ruins which remained were almost entirely destroyed in 1484 when cannon balls were made of the travertine.¹ The bodies of Heliogabalus and Commodus were thrown from this bridge into the Tiber.

7. Spent the morning in writing and at half past one went with Mrs. Russell to the Quirinal to dine with Cardinal Gonzalvo. There were about fifty persons at this fish dinner, among whom were Lord Guilford and Sir Humphrey Davy. After dinner we returned home for a short time and then went to the Sistine Chapel to hear the *Miserere*. The first part was a little tedious, but the close was really affecting and sublime. The Pope was not present.

8. We went this morning at half past ten o'clock to the Sistine Chapel and Mrs. Russell and myself found seats among the diplomatic corps. The ceremony began by chanting the *Miserere*. About eleven o'clock we left the Sistine Chapel and proceeded to the Pauline Chapel, which being very small there were no persons admitted into it excepting the Emperor and Empress with their suites, the diplomatic corps, and some of the higher clergy. The Pope soon appeared [] which he deposited in the tomb of the saint. From the Pauline Chapel we next went to the scaffolding erected to see the benediction of the Pope conferred on the people collected in the court of the Church of St. Peters. This scaffolding was erected over colonnade at the left of the court of St. Peter's, while the balcony from which the Pope gave the benediction was in the centre of the front of St. Peter's on the same level. The Pope with his attendants in the balcony; the Emperor and Empress with their suites; the number of ladies and gentlemen on the

¹ Nicholas V died in 1455. Sixtus IV was pope until August 12, 1484, and he was succeeded by Innocent VIII.

scaffolding with us; the immense concourse of people and carriages in the courts below; the temple; palace; all illuminated by a fine Italian sun, exhibited a most magnificent spectacle. From this spectacle we went into the hall of transept where the feet of twelve men were to be washed by the Pope. On our passage thither we were very much squeezed and jostled by the tumultuous crowd which thronged our way and which the guards were unable to control. A German lady was struck by one of these guards with his halberd and wounded.¹ When we arrived in the hall we were well situated to view the scene which was there presented. The Pope first took his seat in his pontifical robes which he soon after laid aside, and binding himself with a cord he descended to perform his humble office. The twelve beggars whose feet he was to wash were arranged on a seat at the right. He walked to the first followed by priests with a basin, ewer and towel. The shoe of each of the beggars, who by the way were dressed in white and very clean linen, was taken, in succession, from the right foot which was then slightly wet with water by the Pope and wiped with [the] towel above mentioned. When this ceremony was finished we proceeded, without molestation, from the [] to the hall of Borgia. The same twelve poor men also repaired thither as also the Pope. These first ranged in a row and the Pope passed them in succession with a basin and ewer and a towel with which he served them to wash and wipe their hands. They afterwards placed themselves on one side of the table with their backs to the wall and the dignities of the church, among whom I observed the Grand Master of his Holiness, brought the food and wine from the kitchen and the Pope served it with his own hand across the table to the beggars. He began at one end and went to the other five or six times, the wine and the different courses of food requiring this repetition. All these ceremonies finally closed at about half past one o'clock, and we proceeded immediately on foot to the apartments of Raphaello, where we had been invited to dine with his eminence Cardinal Gonzalvo. These apartments are also in the palace of the Vatican. A young Austrian officer [] handed Mrs. Russell in to dinner and I handed in the Neapolitan Princess Pantchelli, who is accompanying the Prince, her husband, on a diplomatic mission to Berlin. After dinner we walked through the rooms of the Museum. We then returned home, and changing our dress went to St. Peter's to see the illumination of the cross.² We found it very brilliant but it lost some of its effect from the light.

¹ Metternich mentions the same incident and the indecent crush and confusion. *Memoirs of Prince Metternich*, III. 221.

² See Metternich, III. 222.

which was kept up in several of the chapels. The latter is said, however, to be necessary to prevent the scandalous scenes which formerly took place in their obscure recesses. There were priests at one of the shrines situated opposite to the corners of the great altar where they exhibited to the people below the *precious relics* which are there deposited. Trentanove sung in evening at our lodgings.

9. As our curiosity was glutted yesterday with papal exhibitions we did not again visit that place, but I accompanied Mrs. Russell to see the Coliseum, leaving to Amelia, who went to the Sistine Chapel with the Cobbs and Inches, to report what she saw. The Coliseum is certainly the most magnificent ruin which remains of ancient Rome. A considerable portion of the wall still retains its original altitude and although stript of its ornaments is still sublime. The four orders which ornamented it are still there and some of them entire. The lowest is Doric, the next Ionic, the third Corinthian and the fourth composite. The three lowest are pilasters or half round columns and the uppermost flat pilasters. The French excavated this edifice to the ancient Arena but the water rushing in they were obliged to fill in the earth again for several feet. The French also built a flight of steps to ascend the ruin. Indeed the French with two exceptions of small account, made all the excavations amidst the remains of antiquity which have been made at Rome in modern times. I went again this day to partake of a fish dinner at Cardinal Gonzalvo's. In the evening we called on the Princess Paulina¹ who received us most kindly and reposed in us much confidence. We afterwards went to the Dutch Minister's and spent the remainder of the evening.

10. We this morning visited the Pantheon. We found it too entire to be called a ruin, although, stript of many of its ornaments, it has lost much of its ancient magnificence. It is said to have been built by Marcus Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, in his third consulate and twenty-six years before the Christian era. From the architecture, however, of the main building, I should incline to the opinion of those who suppose it to have been built before that epoch. The portico is of better architecture and evidently of a later period; the capitals of four of the columns of the portico are much superior to the other twelve. These were added by Pope Alexander the Seventh. All of the columns are of oriental granite of a single block fourteen feet in circumference and thirty-eight and one-half feet high without including the base and the capital. The whole quantity of bronze torn from this magnificent temple is

¹ Marie Pauline Bonaparte (1780-1825) wife of Prince Camillo Borghese.

said to have weighed more than forty-five millions of pounds, and that the bronze nails alone weighed nine thousand three hundred and seventy-four pounds. It was the Popes and Christian Emperors who tore off this metal, some of which was employed in the Church of St. Peter and much in the cannon of the fort St. Angelo. The diameter of the dome is one hundred and thirty-two feet and the height of the building the same. The walls of its circumference are nineteen feet thick. The opening at the top of the vault is twenty-six feet in diameter and the whole building is lighted by this sole aperture. A flight of stairs, without, conducts to the top and consists of one hundred and ninety steps. This temple was denominated Pantheon because it was dedicated to all the Gods. The Emperor Phocas presented it to Pope Boniface the Fourth who turned it into a Christian church and dedicated it to the Virgin and the Saint Martyrs. It was thus preserved from destruction. Gregory the Fourth, in 830 dedicated it to all the saints, but the saints have now but a very small portion of the church. A confraternity of artists, which belong to the church, have filled almost the whole circumference with busts of distinguished persons in letters and the arts. Canova has much increased the number of these busts either by his own hand or by paying others. There is a fine bust of Christopher Columbus by Trentanove at the expense of Canova. The bust of Raphael, by Paolo Naldini, is also here with the following inscription by Cardinal Bembo:

ILLE HIC EST RAPHAEL, TIMUIT QVO SOSPITE VINCI
RERVUM MAGNA PARENS ET MORIENTE MORI

Bellori has translated it in Italian:

Questi è quel Raffael, cui vivo vinta,
Esser temea Natura, e morto es tinta.

From the Rotonda, as it is now called, we went to view the remainder of the Baths of Agrippa, in its immediate vicinity, but which are covered with modern houses and are but very partially visible. From the Baths of Agrippa we went to the church of St. Mary of Minerva, so called because erected on the ruins of the Temple of Minerva built by Pompey the Great in gratitude for his victories. This church now contains many interesting tombs and paintings. We next visited the Baths of Titus and again went through the apartments which had been cleared out by the French. The inscription to which I before alluded in the corridor is as follows:

Duodecim Deosiit Deanam et Jovem optimum maximum habeat
iratos quisquis hic minxerit aut cacarit.

We next visited the church of St. Peter in vincoli, where we saw the famous statue of Moses by Michael Angelo. We next visited the church of St. Martin which is supposed to be one of the oldest churches at Rome but rebuilt in 1640, and is now one of the most magnificent churches at Rome. The walls are decorated with landscapes by Gaspard Poussin and with figures by his brother Nicolas. There is beneath the church a subterranean vault where are the bodies of St. Sylvester and St. Martin, and this vault leads to a subterranean church in which St. Sylvester then Pope, is supposed to have held a council as long ago as the year 324. It is supposed to have a communication with the catacombs. From St. Martin's we entered a vineyard where we saw the Seven Halls, so-called, but which were formerly denominated Piscina and formed a reservoir for waters for the Thermes of Titus.

11. At ten o'clock this morning Mrs. Russell and myself went to the Villa Borghese with Ida. We then dressed and went to dine with the Cardinal Gonzalvo, and Lent being over we had a most excellent dinner. After dinner we returned home and called and took Amelia, who was at Mrs. Cobb's and then proceeded to the Place of St. Pierre, but finding it too early for the fireworks we took a walk in the church and then took a turn in the Corso. About half after seven we returned to the Place of St. Peter and went into the lodge which had been prepared for the Emperor to see the illumination of the dome of St. Peter's. The first illumination was very rich and classical, marking the domes and columns and pilasters of the front of this magnificent church. The second illumination, which took place about an hour afterwards, was instantaneously lighted and was most splendid and dazzling.¹ About nine o'clock we proceeded to the place prepared for the fireworks from the girandole of St. Adrian. We were, however, very inhospitably stopped by the guards and not allowed to pass the Bridge of St. Angelo in our carriage. We then went over it on foot, and safely reached our place in the Emperor's box to which we had been invited by the Cardinal Gonzalvo. We had here ices and other refreshments. We waited near an hour before the fireworks began. They were very brilliant and very short, — could not have continued for more than fifteen minutes. It was quite calm and the smoke enveloped the place from which the fireworks were set off

¹ Metternich was also much impressed, III. 224. His general opinion was thus expressed: "I acknowledge that I cannot understand how a Protestant can turn catholic at Rome. Rome is like a most magnificent theatre with very bad actors. . . . In all this it is evident that Italian taste has much influence in the ceremonies; what pleases and excites laughter on this side of the Alps causes weeping on the other, and *vice versa*."

which is said to have prevented the exhibition of a part of them. We got home safely at about a quarter past ten o'clock.

12. At ten o'clock we visited the French Museum and then went again to the Villa Borghese with Ida and walked in the gardens. We afterwards called on the Danish Consul at Algiers and stopped at Torlonia's and received two hundred scudi. We afterwards visited the Baths of Caracalla. These baths were built by Antoninus Caracalla and of great extent and magnificence. The hall called Cella Solearis is one hundred and eighty-eight feet in length and one hundred and thirty-four in breadth. Many precious monuments of antiquity have been found in these baths. The Torso of Belvedere, the two urns of basalt now in the Vatican; the celebrated Hercules of Glycon the Athenian, the Flora, the famous group of the Farnese Bull, etc. There were formerly sixteen hundred rooms for bathing. There were three stories, the first contained the baths. The second was for mental amusements, and the third for workmen and domestics. From these baths we went to visit the grotto generally, although erroneously called the Grotto of Egeria. It is a large, half-ruined arch with a little stream falling into it and running through which is one of the sources of the little river Almo. The reclined decapitated statue placed at the bottom is supposed to be the young river Almo. We saw on our left a little temple of fine architecture, supposed to be of the time of Nero. It is now called the Temple of Rediculo and said, incorrectly, to have been erected on the abrupt retreat of Hannibal — a *redeundo*. On the hill just above the Grotto of Egeria we visited a little oblong temple which is by some supposed to be a temple of Bacchus, by some a temple of Camenae, and by some neither. In returning we stopt a few minutes to view the Arch of Drusus under which we passed. It was erected in honour of Drusus the father of the Emperor Claudius after his death. There still remain two columns of African marble of the composite order and it is supposed to have been made use of by Caracalla to support the aqueduct by which the water was conducted to his Baths. Spent evening at home and had a visit from our young countryman Robinson, and from Trenanove who sung to his guitar.

13. This morning we visited the Church of St. Sebastian and from it descended into the catacombs for a short time. These catacombs are said to have been inhabited by the early Christians during the times of persecution. We were shown the horizontal cavities in which they are said to have deposited their dead. The subterraneous passages are very narrow and sometimes low, but of great extent and we were shown the opening of one of them which is said to extend to Ostium. After leaving the catacombs we visited the

stables of Caracalla, some of the arches of which are still entire and support a terrace on which we ascended. From these stables we went to the tomb of Cecilia Metella, the daughter of Quintus Creticus and the wife of Crassus the Triumvir. The lower part is square and the upper circular which has eighty-nine and a half feet diameter and the walls of which are thirty feet in thickness, of brick covered with large blocks of travertine. The sarcophagus of Grecian marble which was found here is in the court of the Farnese Palace. On the outside is seen still a great part of the marble on which was the inscription. From this tomb we went to the Circus of Caracalla. It is fifteen hundred and twenty-four feet long and three hundred and ninety-five broad. Sufficient of the goals and the *spira* still remain to give a very accurate idea of the races which were there performed in the biga or quadriga, carriages of two and four horses. In the upper part of the walls are the remains of many earthen pots which are supposed to have been placed there either to render the work more light or to expedite the labour. We next visited the Tomb of the Scipios. This tomb was originally two stories of which the lower story only remains into which we descended with lighted torches. It was discovered in 1780. There has been found there a sarcophagus of Lucius Scipio Barbatus, vanquisher of the Samnites, as the inscription on it imports, a bust of [the] poet Ennius or another of the Scipios; another bust unknown, and many inscriptions. We next visited the palaces of the Caesars on the Palatine hill. The vast masses of ruins indicate the grandeur, but have nothing left to show the splendor of the buildings when in their glory. We then visited the Temple of Vesta; the Cloaca Maxima; the Temple of Fortuna Virilis; the place of the Jews which is shut every night, and the Portico of Octavius or rather of Octavia. Called in the evening on the Cobbs and Inches where we remained until eleven o'clock.

14. After Mrs. Russell had returned from a ride with Ida, we went to see the paintings in the Palace of Doria in the Corso. These paintings are arranged in numerous apartments and are from the hands of the first masters. The most remarkable are the Bridge of Lucano and the Road of Tivoli by Gaspard Poussin;¹ a Turkish woman on horseback, by Benoit Castiglione; Endymion by Guercino; Cain and Abel, by Salvator Rosa; the celebrated portrait of a woman, by Rubens; two very fine landscapes, by Claude Lorraine; a Belisarius, by Salvator Rosa; a Judith, by Guido; Queen Jeanne, by Leonardo da Vinci, and several fine portraits by Titian and Vandyke. From the Palace Doria we went to the fine Palace

¹ Gaspar Dughet Poussin (1613-1675).

Borghese and saw there the superb collection of pictures on the lower floor or *rez-de-chaussée*. Among many masterpieces the following may be distinguished: Our Saviour absolving the woman taken in adultery; a fine head by Raphael, said to represent one of the family of Borgia; Leda, by Leonardo da Vinci; Prodigal Son, by Titian; a head of Jesus Christ, commonly called the Divinity in anger, by Caracci; The Three Graces, by Titian; The chase of Diana, by Domenichino; The Deposition from the Cross, by Raphael, etc. We next proceeded to the Sacred Mount and on our way thither we stopped to view the churches of St. Agnes and St. Constance. The former was built by Constantine the Great. We entered it by descending forty-five steps. The three naves are supported by sixteen ancient columns of different materials, two of which are of fine marble fluted in a very particular manner. The chief altar, which is not beautiful in itself, is supported by four small columns of the most beautiful porphyry. On the altar of the Virgin is a very fine head, in marble, by Michael Angelo. There is also in this church a very magnificent candelabra of ancient workmanship in white marble. This church is supposed to approach in appearance the ancient basilica more than any other now remaining. The church of St. Constance is supposed by many to have been an ancient temple of Bacchus and I am inclined to be of the same opinion. Its form is spherical and it has a diameter within of sixty-nine feet. It is said to have been used first by Constantine as a Baptistry for the baptism of his sister and daughter and afterwards as a tomb for these two Constances. A sarcophagus of unusual size and of fine porphyry found in this church and once containing at least one of these persons was by the order of Pius the Sixth transported to the Museum of the Vatican where it is now seen. In 1256 Alexander the Fourth turned this edifice into a church and took the body of St. Constance from the sarcophagus above mentioned and interred it under the altar. Much of the ancient mosaic on the vault above is perfectly preserved and represents clusters of grapes; carts loaded with grapes drawn by four oxen and the attendant workmen. The oxen are yoked with bows around the neck, in our manner, and not with strings round the foreheads as in many parts of Europe. In the immediate neighborhood of these two churches are the ruins of a Hippodrome erected by Constantine. It was a large court surrounded by porticos and used, as its name imports, for equestrian exercises. We next proceeded to the Sacred Mount which is nearly three miles from Rome. It was to this mount that the Plebians of Rome retired several times when weary of the injustice and tyranny of the nobles. We found it to be rather a rising ground than a mountain or even a hill as its

elevation was small and gradual. It rises immediately on the right bank of the Anio and extends a considerable distance back but not without being intercepted by a small valley. The ancient bridge over this river was called Nomentanus because it was passed in going from Rome to the Sabine city of Nomentum. This bridge was destroyed by the Goths; rebuilt by Narses and repaired by Martin the Fifth.¹ It is now called Lamentana. Immediately after passing it are the ruins of two tombs without any inscription or other indication of the persons they contained.

15. At half past ten o'clock this morning we went, agreeably to invitation, to breakfast with Mr. Sartori, Acting Consul of the United States at Rome.² We were ushered by a servant into a long suite of apartments indifferently furnished, in the third or fourth of which we found Mr. Sartori alone. He did not indeed appear quite prepared to receive us, but in order to gain time he invited us to look at some paintings on the walls of an adjoining room. While thus occupied Mr. Cobb and his family arrived. We all now went into the room where we had just joined Mr. Sartori and where we soon had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Sartori, who is a very beautiful woman; an English officer who spoke very good Italian; an Italian gentleman; the niece and the sister of Mr. Sartori, the last of which was extremely ugly. Shortly after we were there assembled breakfast was announced, and we were conducted into another suite of apartments better furnished. The breakfast table was square, beautifully decorated with flowers and amply furnished with ham, anchovies, bread, butter, oranges, and a variety of other fruits. The coffee and the tea were very good, and it being much later than my usual hour for breakfasting I ate most heartily. After breakfast we were conducted to various parts of the house to see the several views from the windows, none of which were extensive or fine. We were next shown into an apartment where the mother of Mr. Sartori was in bed but had been dressed to see us. She is an old lady of eighty-three years of age and apparently very infirm. Mr. Sartori now made me a present of a small print of Murweld, the painter, engraved by Morghen; to Mrs. Russell a little mosaic of the Temple of Vesta; to Mrs. Cobb a little mosaic of birds, and to each of the rest of our party a bouquet of flowers; and we were given to understand that it was the custom thus to accompany a breakfast given at Rome.

From Mr. Sartori's we went to the Palace of Simonetti now occu-

¹ Otto Colonna, Pope Martin V (1417-1431).

² John Baptiste Sartori was nominated to be United States Consul at Rome, June 24, 1797, and confirmed by the Senate June 26.

pied by Cardinal Fesch,¹ the uncle of Bonaparte. We had a billet permitting us to see the pictures of the Cardinal. We found the collection to be very extensive and consisting of many fine paintings, particularly of the French School, but very much divided by being distributed in a great number of small rooms. In one of these rooms we found the Cardinal himself to whom we were presented and who received us very politely. There was in another apartment a bust of Bonaparte with its head bound with a gilt laurel wreath. From the Palace Simonetti we went to the Capitol with the intention of seeing the pictures and the musée there, but owing to the preparations making for the fête for the Emperor we were not admitted. We then drove to the Vatican and having again seen the pictures there and a part of the inscriptions, we went home to dinner. After dinner I took a walk round the Pincian mount.

16. We began our rambles this morning by a visit to the Palace of Rospigliosi on the Quirinal mount. This palace was built on the ruins of the *Thermae* of Constantine. We here saw the celebrated *Aurora* of Guido and it is one of those paintings which deserve their reputation. *Aurora* with inverted face leads the way; *Hesper* flees behind her with his torch; then follows *Apollo* in his car drawn by four horses while the hours, represented by seven female figures, attend his course. There is infinite grace, splendor and character in the whole. In the adjoining rooms we saw the *Adam and Eve* of Domenichino, and the *Sampson* of Louis Hannibal Caracci,² with many other fine pictures. We next went to Mount Caelian where we saw the church of St. Gregory the Great, and the three chapels annexed to it. In one of these chapels are the *Flagellation* of St. Andrew, by Domenichino, and the *Adoration of the Cross* by the same, said from the hand of Guido³ — both in fresco, and said to have been painted in competition for excellence. In another chapel is a fine statue of St. Gregory begun by Michael Angelo and finished by Nicolas Cordier. We also visited the church of St. Mary della Scala, and saw its fine tabernacle of precious stones. We next went to the Villa Mattei, now belonging to the Prince of Peace.⁴ We saw in his apartments some fine pictures and statues and a double [headed] *Hermes* in marble, of the heads of *Socrates*

¹ Joseph Fesch (1763-1839). Charles Bonaparte, father of Napoleon, married Letizia Ramolino, whose mother, Angela-Maria-Pietra-Santa, widow of the patriot Ramolino, took for her second husband François Fesch of Basle.

² Ludovico Caracci (1555-1619). Hannibal (1560-1609), also a great painter, was his nephew.

³ The entry is confused. The second painting is of St. Andrew kissing the cross on his way to martyrdom, by Guido.

⁴ Alvarez de Faria, Rios Sanchez y Zarzosa, Manuel de Godoy (1767-1851), who had followed Charles IV of Spain and his queen to Rome.

and Seneca, which has lately been found in these grounds. Both these heads are marked by an ancient inscription and Socrates is the same as has universally passed for him, but Seneca is quite different. The Prince has by his excavations also discovered a small obelisk in two pieces which he has erected in his garden. These two pieces might have belonged to the same obelisk originally, but I doubt it, as they differ in colour and the upper piece is covered with hieroglyphics and the lower piece without any. We next visited the church of St. Etienne, called round on account of its spherical form. It is supposed by some to have been an ancient temple, market or arsenal, but by others, on account of the different orders and sizes of the columns, to have been built in the fifth century, with the spoils of more ancient edifices. The walls are painted by Pomarancio¹ and Tempesta² with murder and martyrdom in all its varieties. We thence proceeded to the place of St. John de Lateran and visited the Basilica of that name. This is a noble church and considered the first in the Catholic world. It was formerly so rich as to be denominated "The Golden Basilica." This church is celebrated for the twelve councils, general or provincial which have been holden in it. It was founded by Constantine the Great. In the immediate vicinity of this church is that of St. John in Fonte or the Baptistry of Constantine, the latter name being given to him, Constantine the Great having been there baptised. The baptismal fount is an ancient urn of basalt. We next visited the Chapel of the Saviour which is also called Sancta Sanctorum on account of the great number of sacred relics there deposited. There are three flights of steps to ascend to this chapel, and that in the middle consists of twenty-eight steps of white marble and is believed to be the same which belonged to the palace of Pontius Pilate at Jerusalem, and which Jesus Christ ascended and descended many times. From this circumstance it is regarded as sacred and no person is allowed to ascend it except on the knees. We saw several ascending in this way and on some fête days the stairway is thronged, and to prevent the entire destruction of the marble steps by almost continual friction they are cased in hard wood in which openings are left through which the stone is visible and through which no doubt the holy influence passes. The marble at the top, which is not covered, is very deeply worn. We next visited the Basilica of the St. Cross of Jerusalem because it is said to contain a third part of the holy cross. We saw the place where this relic is kept but not the relic itself, nor anything else very

¹ Niccolo Circignani, called il Pomarancio (1516-1588).

² Peter Molyn, called Tempesta (1637-1701).

curious. We thence proceeded to the Sessorium, commonly called the Temple of Venus and Cupid, because the statues of these two divinities now at the Museum of the Vatican were found here. From the Sessorium we went to see the remains of the Amphitheatre Castrense. Belisarius filled up the arches and made use of this edifice to form a part of the walls of the city. We next passed the modern Porta Maggiore and went to see the Temple of Minerva Medica. This edifice, by whatever name it might have been anciently called or to whatever use applied, is now a decagonal tower of two hundred and twenty-five feet circumference, vaulted over, but a part of the circumference and vault have fallen and the whole is in a very ruinous state. Near it we saw what is called the Columbaria, because the little chambers resemble the apartments of a pigeon-house. This Columbaria is said to have been used by Augustus¹ for the sepulchre of his freedmen. This Temple of Minerva and the Columbaria are in the fields. We afterwards passed the little Church of St. Bibiana and went to see the Arch of Gallienus, which will probably fall in a few years. Adjoining is the Church of St. Vito, built upon the ancient Macellum Livianum. We had also this morning visited the aqueducts and the castle of the Aqua Julia called the Trophies of Marius. In returning home we saw the ruins of the Temple of Nerva, consisting of three magnificent Corinthian fluted columns of Parian marble supporting a fine architrave. There is also one pilaster remaining. The columns are sixteen and one-half feet in diameter and fifty-one feet high. Received in the evening a call from Count Antonelli and delivered our letters from Madame Perera for him.

17. We spent this morning until one o'clock in purchasing prints. In the meantime, however, we went to see the drawing of the lottery, but arrived a little too late at the place. We called next on the Marquis of Canova who sent one of his men with us to see his model of the equestrian statue of Ferdinand the Third, King of Spain. We also called at Trentanove's. We next went to visit the Pyramid of Caius Cestius without the gate of St. Paul. This pyramid is the tomb of Caius Cestius who was one of the septemviri of the Epulones who were charged with preparing the banquets of the Gods, particularly of Jupiter. The paintings of the vault, now much injured, were in relation to the sacred dignity of this employment. The pyramid is one hundred and thirteen feet high and the sides at the bottom are sixty-nine feet, which makes the pyramid appear rather flat. The outside is very nearly perfect having only a few fractures occasioned by shrubs pushing between the interstices.

¹ It was built by Lucius Aruntius, consul under Augustus.

Caius lived in the time of Augustus. They are digging now about the base of the pyramid which has been covered by the accumulation of earth. Immediately behind the pyramid is the cemetery of the Protestants and many English are buried there. We saw from this place Mount Testaccio which is said to have been formed by pieces of broken earthen-ware which were cast here by the potters who had their manufactories in that place. This artificial mountain is one hundred and sixty-three feet high and five hundred and three feet in circumference. In modern times many cellars have been excavated in it which are peculiarly excellent for the preservation of wine. We next proceeded to the Basilica of St. Paul without the walls. It is said to have been built by Constantine the Great on the spot where St. Paul was buried. This church has a very rude and shabby appearance on the outside notwithstanding its magnitude. It is in the form of a Roman cross, and the interior is divided into five naves by eighty columns of marble, twenty-four of which are very beautiful, being each formed of a single piece of violet marble. They are of the Corinthian order fluted to two-thirds which is said to be rare in antiquity. The two immense columns which support the great arch of the tribune are of Saline marble forty-two feet high and fifteen in circumference. Around the principal nave are painted the portraits of all the Popes from St. Peter to Pius the Seventh, the reigning Pope, inclusive. This church is now very seldom visited and its situation in summer is considered very unhealthy. The roof is out of repair and the whole building is kept very slovenly. The beams that pass from eave to eave are of wood and said to be of the cedar of Lebanon. The body of St. Paul is said to repose under the main altar.¹ From this church we returned to town and on our way met Madame Letitia,² the mother of Bonaparte. She was walking with some of her attendants, and her carriage was following. We took some pains to have a good view of her and succeeded. She is a remarkably fine looking old lady with sharp black eyes. In the evening we went to a ball at Torlonia's alias Duke of Bracciano.³ This ball was given in his Palace of Venezia which we found to be in every respect most magnificent. The spacious colonnaded court-yard; the marble staircase; the numerous apartments with painted ceilings, thronged with busts and statues formed an ensemble of splendor, perfectly complete and corresponding in all its parts, and may be considered as a fair representation of ancient Roman magnificence in all its perfection. Among the marbles was a colossal statue of Hercules

¹ This church was burnt July 15, 1823.

² Letizia Ramolino (1750-1836).

³ Giovanni Torlonia (*d* 1829).

in the act of killing Cacus whom he holds by one ankle and the hair. The workmanship of this group is very excellent, but the manner and attitude is a little too artificial. I had a very bad toothache this evening.

18. We called this morning at the Villa Pauline, but the Princess being indisposed we were not admitted. We then drove to the Villa Albani where we spent two hours in seeing the mosaics, marbles, etc. This villa was built about the middle of the last century by the Cardinal Albani after his own plan.¹ He afterwards placed there an extensive collection of the finest statuary of antiquity. It was said that the Cardinal was so great a connoisseur that after he became blind he could pronounce on the merit of a statue by the touch. In the collection is a celebrated Mercury and a bust of Caligula which are very rare. From the Villa Albani we returned home and Mrs. Russell went to dine with the Cardinal Gonzalvo. A very severe toothache prevented my accompanying her. I went, however, to see the German exposior² at the Palace Caffarelli but found nothing in it extraordinary. I afterwards with Amelia, who accompanied me, ascended one hundred and twenty-four steps to the Church of St. Mary d'Ara coeli. This church has been erected on the very spot where once stood the famous Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. We found very little to admire in the church excepting twenty-two large columns of Egyptian granite of different diameter and different workmanship. The picture of the Virgin over the great altar is said to have been painted by St. Luke. After dinner Mrs. Russell took a turn with me in the Corso and we then called together on the Prince and Princess of Canino.³ I returned home and Mrs. Russell went to the theatre where she had been invited by the Princess Pantano and to a place in her lodge. She was much pleased with the performance as she had an opportunity of hearing Paganini who is a prodigy on the violin. He had been convicted of the murder of his wife and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. In his confinement he procured a fiddle with one string and he learned to play tunes through all their varieties on this single cord and to play them in a superior manner. He afterwards was indulged with a complete instrument and he arrived to such a degree of excellence in performing on it that he astonished all who heard him and finally obtained his release from prison.⁴

¹ Alessandro Albani.

² Exposition (?).

³ Charles-Lucien-Jules-Laurent Bonaparte (1775-1840), brother of Napoleon. He married for his second wife, Marie-Alexandrine-Charlotte-Louise-Laurence de Bleschamp (1778-1855).

⁴ Nicolo Paganini (1784-1840). The story of the murder and his imprisonment was false.

19. Mrs. Russell went this morning to the Palace of Colonna in company with the Princess Pantano, and I went with Amelia to the Antonine column which we ascended to the top by one hundred and ninety steps and enjoyed the fine view of Rome which the elevation commands. We afterwards joined Mrs. Russell and went to view the remains of the aqueduct of Agrippa. All these remains which are visible are in a cellar into which we descended, and in doing so I caught a severe fall as the steps from the humidity of the place were very slippery. We then went to the gardens of Colonna where we saw some wonderfully large pieces of white marble, the fragments of a frontispiece of exquisite workmanship, which are said to have formed part of the Temple of the Sun. In this garden we also saw some of the ruins of the Baths of Constantine. In the evening we had a visit from the Marquis Canova who made me a present of two prints of his statue of Washington. The Cobbs and Inches afterwards called, with Joy, and passed the remainder of the evening. I ought to have mentioned that Trentanove called this morning and commenced the model for my bust.

20. I again sat this morning to Trentanove for the model of my bust, which he completed. We then went to visit the Villa Doria-Pamfili. This villa was built in the time of Leo¹ the Tenth by the Prince Pamfili, and has since become the property of the house of Doria, and now belongs to the little Cardinal of that name.² The gardens are most spacious, ornamented with many magnificent pines which are left to grow according to nature, but most of the alleys are bordered with trees trimmed stiffly in the old French style. There are many beautiful fountains in this garden; in one of which there is a grotto with a marble faun at the bottom in the act of playing on his flute. Immediately behind this statue is concealed an organ, resembling a hand organ, but much larger, which is turned, at pleasure by the water, and which produces very fine music, which seems to persons placed in the grotto to come from the instrument of the faun. In the midst of a tune a hundred little fountains appear to pierce the stones before the grotto and to play at the sound of the music, and they cease when the music ceases. The château is much less elegant than most we had seen and contains very few fine specimens of the arts. In going to the Villa Pamfili-Doria we passed the aqueduct of [Acqua Paola]. In the evening we were at a great fête at the Capitol, given in honour of the Emperor and Empress of Austria. The fire-works and illumination were brilliant, but the crowd was insufferably great.

¹ Innocent.

² Giovanni-Pamphili Doria (1751-).

21. We went this morning to Mount Marius. This mountain in the time of the Romans was called Clivus Cinnae, and afterwards by the name by which it now passes, on account of the nobleman Marius Millini, who built a country house there. We ascended to this house which stands on the summit and thence enjoyed a most extensive view of the valley of the Tiber, Mount Soracte, the Apennines, the Sabine Hills, and the city of Rome. Over this hill formerly passed the Flaminian road, a considerable portion of the pavement of which still remains. It was by this road that Porsenna entered Rome. We called at the Villa Pauline between five and six o'clock and spent half an hour with the Princess. We then went to a fête at the ancient Mausoleum of Augustus. It is now used as a place for bull-baiting in summer. The fête this evening was for the Emperor and Empress which consisted of a great crowd and a little dancing, but nothing brilliant.

22. Went this morning with Trentanove to the rooms of Krusiman,¹ a celebrated landscape painter *à la guache*,² or with water-colors on paper. His papers are indeed admirable and exceed I think everything of the kind which I had before seen. From Kusi-man's rooms we went to the French Academy and saw there the exposition for the present year. There was nothing, however, very remarkable. We now proceeded, without Trentanove, to the Capitol and took a glance at the Capitol and then drove to the Vatican. We now went into the library which we had not visited before, and were filled with admiration at its extent and value and at the beauty and number of the apartments which contained it. Besides books and manuscripts there is a vast collection of ancient coins and medals and Etruscan vases. There is a very fine statue of Aristides of Smyrna — sitting. From the library we went once more into the museum of Chiaramonti and again enjoyed the fine statuary of antiquity which is found there. It is remarkable that the most beautiful and most celebrated statue in the world, the Apollo of Belvedere, has two imperfections, which escape, amidst its grace, general observation. Its head is not placed precisely in the middle of its body and one of its legs is longer than the other. The Princess Canino called and invited us to breakfast for Saturday, and afterwards our countrymen Main and Terril came and spent the evening.

¹ Cornelis-Kruseman (1797-1857) (?).

² Mr. John Briggs Potter, of the Museum of Fine Arts, writes me: "Gouache differs from straight water-color painting, which is the transparent use of water color on white or a very light toned paper, in that the water colors are mixed with Chinese white to build up reliefs of light and the paper used is almost always of a medium or grey tone. Gouache really means the use of water color rendered opaque instead of transparent."

23. I was much pestered this morning in obtaining a carriage as the month for which I had engaged one had expired. I at last succeeded at the rate of four dollars per diem. I called on Torlonia this morning and took up six hundred and eighteen dollars, making in all eleven hundred for Rome. We spent the remainder of the morning in again visiting the ruins in the ancient Roman Forum and in seeing the museum at the Capitol. The evening we spent at the Dutch Minister's and at the Princess of Sciara's.¹

24. Called this morning on Trentanove and went with him to visit the Graces of Thorwaldsen which we found to be admirable. We went at one to dine with the Prince of Canino, or rather as he expressed it, to dine with him. After dinner we examined his pictures which were very fine. We also saw three statues, a vase, and other marbles which he had found at his villa. The statues were a lady in a Greek dress; Tiberius in marble; and a young Apollo in bronze. The arms of this Apollo were broken off and Lucien supposes they were so even before it was placed in Roman times in his villa, as after every search no arms could be found near the place where the statue was discovered. After dinner we went with the Reverend Mr. Grassi to visit the Nunnery of St. Francis. This nunnery contains some of the children of the noblest families in Rome who are not, however, bound by any vow to perpetual exclusion. There has not been any instance, however, of a single one having left the convent when once she had entered it. The nuns are not idle, but employed in spinning and other occupations. From the capacious refectory and the numerous cells the convent was calculated for and once contained several hundreds, although there are now only fifteen there. We went to a ball in the evening at the French Minister's but did not stay long.

25. We went this morning to the Church of the Convent d'Umita to see a nun take the white veil, but as the ceremony was not to begin until half past ten we availed ourselves of the interim to visit several churches, among others those of St. Ignatius, St. Maria in Vallicella and Jesus, the latter of which was very rich. At half past we returned to the convent and as we had a note from the Princess Sciarra to the Superiora good seats had been reserved for us in the church. As soon as the Cardinal arrived the nun came forward to the grate. She was richly dressed and her head covered with a blaze of diamonds. The Cardinal had put on his pontifical robes and the ceremony began by a sermon from another prelate. As far as I could understand this sermon, it appeared to me a most curious production. The bishop then read the usual ritual; the nun

¹ In the Palazzo Sciarra-Colonna.

took off her ornaments and covered herself with a white veil; she then smiled most theatrically in order to express her satisfaction at her change of situation. Upon the whole the ceremony was much less impressive than I had imagined. After this ceremony was over we returned home, dressed, and went to dine with the Cardinal Gonzalvo. There was to have been this afternoon a horse race in honour of the Emperor and Empress, but as it rained excessively the Cardinal had gone to obtain the imperial consent for the postponement of the fête until the return of their Majesties from Naples. This circumstance made us wait for our dinner an hour beyond the usual time. In the evening, in consequence of an invitation from the Princess Canino, we called on Madame Mère.¹ The Princess was there by agreement to introduce us. Cardinal Fesch was also present. The old lady was very amiable while we stayed which was about half an hour. We then went and spent the remainder of the evening with Lucien and family. He and Madame expressed a wish that I would permit their eldest son² to accompany me to America provided they could obtain for him the passport for which they had applied. They requested me also to mention the subject to Cardinal Gonzalvo when I should see him, as I proposed on the morrow to take leave.

26. Called this morning and took leave of Torlonia and the Ministers of France and Austria.³ I then called on Cardinal Gonzalvo who received me very graciously, and although the antechamber was crowded with people in waiting, he gave me immediate audience. I began by thanking him for all his attentions and politeness. I then said a few words in respect to Mr. Sartori, our Acting Consul, all which was well received by the Cardinal. I next proceeded to a more delicate subject — the wish of Lucien Bonaparte to send his eldest son with me to the United States. The Cardinal immediately entered fully and frankly into the subject. He recounted all the circumstances relating to the conduct of the allied powers towards Lucien. He said that after the last defeat of Napoleon, Lucien, on his way from Paris to Rome, was arrested at Turin by the King of Sardinia and imprisoned at that place, that on representation of this circumstance to the ministers of the great allied powers then at Paris, it was resolved by those ministers that Lucien should be liberated and allowed to proceed to Rome provided the Pope consented thereto, and provided that neither Lucien nor his family should leave the papal territories. The Pope acquiesced without hesitation, and Lucien embraced the proposition

¹ Letizia Bonaparte.

² Charles-Lucien-Jules-Laurent Bonaparte (1803-1857).

³ Prince de Kaunitz.

with eagerness and even volunteered his word of honour to observe the conditions that were imposed; that Naples and France were dissatisfied with the arrangement, and the former had required that Lucien should be driven out of the papal dominions which the Pope peremptorily refused. The Cardinal showed me the protocols of all these transactions, and a letter from Tallyrand on the subject in which he contends that a distinction ought to be made between Lucien and the other members of the Bonaparte family on account of the part which he had acted some months before. He also showed me a letter from Lucien asking a passport for his son to accompany me to America, the Cardinal's answer to this letter stating the necessity of consulting the allied powers before he could accede to this request; a second letter from Lucien in which he remonstrates against the injustice of delaying to grant the passport which he had requested, stating that his parole could not affect his children who, when of age, would be masters of their own conduct, and even intimating that he would sooner return to the castle of Turin than submit to the oppression of a different construction. The Cardinal appeared to be a little hurt at the tone of this letter but observed "*il est malheureux et je lui pardonne.*" After this conversation I asked the Cardinal for his orders for post-horses and for an escort which he immediately accorded filling the blanks up himself. He followed me to the outward door and took his leave in the most gracious manner, sending his compliments and good wishes to Mrs. Russell. I next returned home and then accompanied Mrs. Russell to the Capitol, the tower of which we ascended to the top. Thence we had a very fine view of the site and ruins of ancient Rome and could distinguish the famous Seven Hills. The prospect commanded also modern Rome and the vicinity as far as Mount Soracte on one side, and the Sea and the Pontine Marshes on the other. After dinner I called on Lucien and gave him an account of my interview with the Cardinal Gonzalvo at which he appeared very little pleased. I afterwards accompanied Mrs. Russell and Amelia to the Princess Pauline's and took leave of her. In the evening Terril and Trentanove called on us and the former remained until half past twelve the next morning.

27. We had at last obtained permission, through the influence of Monseigneur [], to visit the statues and the celebrated paintings at the Villa Ludovisi. We accordingly called on him at half past twelve and took him with us in our carriage. At the gate we met our countrymen, Terril and Main, to whom we had given a hint of our success and desired them to profit by it. This villa occupies part of the gardens of Sallust close by the Aurelian wall. We first entered the casino which contains the statues. We saw

there the finest collection, for its extent, which we had ever seen. Among other chefs-d'œuvre, a superb statue of Mars reposing, a sitting gladiator, an Esculapius, a group of Pluto and Proseпина, one of Orestes, and Electra, and another most excellent of Paetus holding his wife Arria after she had killed herself and in the act of plunging the dagger in his own bosom. We next proceeded to the casino which contains the justly celebrated Aurora painted in fresco by Guerchino di Cento. It deserves all its reputation and excelled in our opinion the Aurora of Guido. In the story above we also saw the Fame of the same painter in fresco which was likewise very fine. We mounted on the top of the building and took a glance at the surrounding prospect which was very commanding but which, as it began to rain, we could not enjoy long. For the same reason we could not examine very leisurely the statues in the gardens. We carried Monseigneur to his apartments and then went to the Palace of Spada, and among many interesting objects saw there the famous statue of Pompey at the foot of which Julius Caesar is said to have expired. The head of this statue was found at a considerable distance from the body which occasioned some doubt if it rightfully belonged to it. Canova has, however, after a thorough investigation, pronounced it to be the true original head. We entered the apartment where the statue is kept with some English men and women, one of the latter of whom exclaimed on entering: "There is the statue which the barbarous French mutilated by sawing off the arm in order to get it through the door to remove it." She walked up to it with an air of triumph, in order to point out the truth of this violence, but she looked extremely foolish when she could find no trace of such an outrage, the statue being, in fact, as entire as the first moment it was discovered. The poor woman had been misled by the falsehood of Eustace who never paid the least respect to truth when there was a question of the French. In the afternoon the Prince and Princess of Canino called on us. Trentanove had joined us to a party to see the statues of the Vatican by torch-light, but some of the party came so late that we had merely time to arrive at the door of the Museum before our appointments called us elsewhere. We first called on the Prince and Princess of Canino and then returned home to receive Mr. Sartori and his wife, who came to pass the evening with us as well as Trentanove who had returned with us.

28. We were very busily engaged this morning in packing up. About noon Charles Bonaparte, the eldest son of Lucien, called on us with Monsieur Franci, the physician of the Prince. We ordered dinner at two o'clock and set off at three-quarters past three. Trentanove stayed with us till we were off. After leaving Rome we

found some part of the road broken up to repair and we did not reach Tor di Mezzavia until a quarter past five. The postmaster or his man attempted to impose on us by making us pay for a royal post and insisted on detaining us for this object, until I gave orders to return to Rome which appeared to alarm him and he permitted us to go on. We arrived at Albano at seven and stopped at the Hotel Ville de Londres to which we had been recommended by Mr. Kruseman.

29. We spent this morning in seeing the curiosities at Albano. This city is built on the spot of the ancient city of Alba Longa which was founded four hundred years before the city of Rome and flourished until the time of Tullius Hostilius. Ascanius son of Aeneas is said to have been the founder. A tomb is still seen which is said to have been the sepulchre of this Prince, but of which the origin is really unknown. It is a tower still of considerable elevation although all its ornaments are gone. From this tower we proceeded to the lake which is a long mile distant. We passed by the Castel Gandolfo, belonging to the Pope, and built upon the spot where Milo killed the Tribune Clodius. The lake was formerly called Albano, now Castillo on account of its proximity to this castle. We were mounted on jackasses, and on descending to the lake we found the road or path in some places very rough, and on account of the late rains, very muddy. The lake is supposed to be the crater of an ancient volcano and its depth, which is four hundred and eighty feet, appears to warrant this supposition. It is said to be five miles in circumference, but by reason of the high land on every side its extent appears to be much less. We visited the outlet which was made to this lake about three hundred and ninety-three years before the Christian era. It was worked through the solid mountain of rock for nearly two miles, its width being three and one-half feet and its height six feet. It has never received any repairs and is now as perfect as the day it was finished, more than two thousand, two hundred years ago. The entrance near the lake is protected by a kind of gate, and the man who opened it lighted a taper which he placed on a little piece of wood which he set afloat on the current, and which as it proceeded, threw a light on the subterraneous passage and made it visible for a considerable distance. On our return we stopped at a grotto which is supposed to have been a Nymphé or a hall ornamented with the statues of nymphs where they went to refresh themselves in old times. The statues are gone, but the niches in which they stood still remain, and places for baths and the conduit for water which supplied them. We next went to the Villa Barberini and saw there the ruins of a palace of Nero and of his amphitheatre. It is said that there was not only a covered way from the one to the other, but that there was such a way from

the palace to the city of Rome, a distance of about fourteen miles. In the gardens of Barberini there was a fine ancient bust of Scipio Africanus. We saw also parts of a fine marble frieze and a Corinthian capital worked into the modern walls of the garden. We next went to view the remains of an ancient conservatory of water. We now returned to our inn and having dined we set off at half past three in prosecution of our journey. Just as we left Albano we saw the remains of an ancient tomb vulgarly called the tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii, but supposed by others more reasonably to have been the tomb of Pompey the Great.¹ We stopped a short time to examine it. It has a square foundation which was formerly crowned with five pyramids of which two only are now standing. We arrived at Genzano, three-quarters of a post, at four o'clock, having been obliged to take six horses. We set off now with four horses only, and arrived at Velletri, one post at six o'clock. Here we met Mr. Robinson and Bernard returning from Naples. We went to visit the Palace Lancellotti, formerly Gennette. It is now converted into an inn and very much abused. We saw the fine staircase, said to be the most magnificent in Italy. The statues still remain on the ground, some of them much defaced and one of them placed under a stable window of modern times was literally covered with a dung heap. From the portico on the back of this palace is a fine view of the valley which we enjoyed for a few minutes and then returned to our inn, where Mr. Robinson took tea and spent the evening with us.

30. We took an escort this morning of two dragoons and resumed our journey at half past five. At half past seven we changed horses and dragoons at Cisterna at seven and again changed horses at Torre tre Ponti at eight thirty. Here the Pontine Marshes commence and here we discharged our escort. We changed horses at Bocca de fiume at half past nine; at Mesa at ten thirty — at Ponti Maggiore at eleven and reached Terracina at eleven thirty. A short distance before we arrived at this place we had left the Pontine Marshes. We found considerable cultivation on these marshes and the road everywhere excellent and the postillions, particularly the last two, drove with great rapidity. We stopped to breakfast at Terracina and again set off at twelve thirty. We reached the frontier of the Pope in about a mile and found there a military station and were persuaded to take an escort for the rest of the stage, but we had not proceeded far before we arrived at the Neapolitan barrier when our escort informed us they could go no further and demanded pay for the whole distance. This I refused and

¹ There are two tombs, not one, as Russell has it.

a warm altercation took place, which I ended by giving four pauls to the rogues. The usual rate of paying the dragoons is five pauls each for a post with a small *bon a mano*. We reached Fondi, a post and a half, at two; Itri, one post, at three fifteen; and Mola de Gaëta,¹ one post, at four thirty. At this place our passport was again required and a report of our baggage, but we passed without difficulty. We reached Garigliano at three-quarters past six and St. Agatha at a quarter past eight. We stopped here for the night and found most wretched lodgings in a most wretched inn.

May 1. We left our vile inn at St. Agatha this morning at half past six o'clock. We passed Sparanisi at eight, and reached Capua at a quarter past ten. As the old town of Capua is about a mile and a half from the new we did not visit it, as the few shapeless ruins which remain there would have afforded very little indemnity for the loss of time. We breakfasted at Capua and resumed our journey at half past eleven. We found the roads thence to Aversa very rough and heavy and we did not reach the latter place until one o'clock, although it is but one post. We likewise found the road bad from Aversa to Naples and were until three o'clock in reaching the latter. About half way we were indeed detained a short time by one of the fore wheels running off. John and Marcus who had greased the wheels the day before had not secured this in the proper manner and we found ourselves, all at once pitched diagonally on the end of the axle. At the Barrier of Naples I found a servant with a letter from Mr. Hammett informing me that he had taken apartments for our accommodation at the Crocelle. We therefore proceeded thither and found the apartments very comfortable and pleasant, commanding a fine view of the bay and surrounding country. We found them, however, too elevated having to mount no less than one hundred and two steps to arrive at them. After dinner I took a walk and called on our consul, Alexander Hammett.

2. Received a visit this morning from Mr. Hammett after which I made several calls and delivered letters of introduction, one to Count Mocenigo, the Russian Minister; the Princess Geraci; the Princess Bellmonte, and Madame Bird. All these letters were from Baron Lagerswärd. After dinner I took a long ride with Mrs. Russell and Amelia along the bay to the westward and encountered a crowd of carriages.

3. Mr. Hammett called this morning and introduced Mr. Davis from New Jersey. I afterwards went out and delivered the remainder of my letters of introduction which were to the following persons: Falconette & Co.; Rogers & Co.; Torrebello, the Por-

¹ Formia.

tuguese Minister; Boréel, the Dutch Minister; Circello, the Minister of Foreign Affairs; General Ambrosio; Major Salviggi; Mr. Joseph Ferro; and Jablonowski, the Austrian Minister. I found at home Mr. Rogers, the partner of Falconette (Falconette himself having gone with his family to Switzerland), the Ministers of Holland and Portugal and the Major Salviggi. The Minister of Foreign Affairs was at home, but so much occupied that he requested that I would call again to-morrow. At four o'clock we received a visit from Madam Bird and her daughters; at six the Princess Bellmonte. The latter told us that she received every Sunday and Wednesday evening. At nine o'clock the Princess of Geraci called by agreement and took Mrs. Russell with her to the Austrian Minister's. About eight o'clock the Minister of Russia called on me to make excuses for not intending to present me to the King,¹ etc. His reasons and his conduct were at least ridiculous if not impertinent.

4. Called this day on the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Circello, and he engaged to ask leave of presentation from the King. He said that the Count Mocenigo had called on him and consulted him concerning my presentation and that they had both considered it best, on account of the *alliance* between the United States and Great Britain, for me to be presented by the British Minister and Mrs. Russell by his lady. I remonstrated against this course, having no acquaintance with the said minister, and not being inclined to ask favours in that quarter. Circello then engaged to present me himself, but as the King would be absent for three days it would be necessary to wait a short time. I next went to the Custom-house and found that my trunks from Rome had not arrived. As my uniform coat was in one of them I felt it necessary to refuse an invitation to the Academy, given by the Austrian Minister to the Emperor and Empress and imperial family this evening. Received a note from Mocenigo saying that the English Minister would present me. The English Minister left his card and his lady called and made us a visit in person. Mr. Middleton also called. In the evening I took a walk to the gardens and Mrs. Russell and Amelia went to the Academy above mentioned, at six o'clock, and remained until ten. They came home very much pleased with the music and with the attentions which they had received.

5. We ordered our carriage this morning at nine o'clock, but having waited for it till half past ten, I took a walk to the Consul's. He accompanied me to the coachmakers who first tried to persuade us that the carriage had been sent at the time ordered, and then that it had not been ordered until noon. He promised, however,

¹ Ferdinand IV (1751-1825).

to be punctual in future. We walked home and there found the carriage. After sitting for some time we went to see the Chapel of St. Serverino or the Church of St. Marie di la Pietá. We saw some very fine and curious statues in this chapel as well as other excellent sculpture. Among the statues is one of the mother¹ of the Prince Dom Raimond under the figure of chastity [], covered with a veil. This veil tho' a part of the marble, is so well executed as to appear transparent and to discover the lineaments beneath it. The Greeks and Romans never sculptured veils and the latter painted them only. This statue was executed by Corradini.² Another statue, executed by Queirola,³ represents the said Dom Raymond of Vice Undeceived. The Prince after the death of his wife turned religious. He caused himself to be sculptured as a man covered by a net from which he was disentangling himself by the aid of a little winged spirit. The net is of the same piece of marble as the statue and admirably executed. There is also a bust [of] Christ begun by Corradini and finished by Joseph San Martino,⁴ a Neapolitan, of wonderful workmanship. After we had seen the curiosities of this church we spent the remainder of the time, until dinner, in shopping. After dinner we took a ride and walked in the garden. We were obliged to stay at home in the evening, although invited to the Princess Bellmonte's, as Mrs. Russell had broken the key to the trunk which contained her clothes. We had a visit from Mr. Main whom I had met in the morning at the Consul's. Mrs. Middleton and Mr. Boréel called this morning while we were out. General Ambrosio also called and left a note inviting us to his box on Sunday evening.

6. We called on the Consul this morning at a little past nine o'clock and went with him to the Academy of Studies. We began by examining the pictures of later times, of which there is a considerable selection in several apartments. There are but few productions, however, of the great masters. The painting which interested us most was a portrait of Christopher Columbus, by Parmigiano. There was a little picture by Correggio not more than a foot square representing the Virgin Mary and her Son, for which the Academy is said to have paid twenty thousand ducats. We could see nothing in the work, however, to justify the price. We next went into the apartments containing the paintings found in Pompeii and Herculaneum, as well as rings, spoons, etc. We next went into the rooms where are the papyri in a carbonated state and were shown the

¹ Cecilia Gaetani, wife of Antonio di Sangro.

² Antonio Corradini (-1752).

³ Francisco Queirola.

⁴ Giuseppe San Martino (1728-1800).

process by which they are developed. We then went into the library which is said to contain forty thousand volumes and one thousand manuscripts. We next went to the chambers containing the vases found in the ancient sepulchres which are very numerous and some of them finely executed. The paintings on them were often historical many depicting events well known, such as the Death of Patroclus, the Death of Hector, etc. We lastly descended to the ground floor and saw there the statues, busts and bas-reliefs. There are some very fine statues, as the Farnesian Hercules equestrian statues of the Consul Albius and his son, found in Herculaneum, a fine bust of Julius Caesar, etc. There is a bust of Aristides admired for its drapery and attitude. The latter, however, to me expressed very little, either of grace or force. In the court-yard we saw some of the ancient mills which were probably turned by hand. I have omitted to say that in some of the rooms above stairs we saw a great collection of cooking utensils and other household implements, implements of surgery, steelyards and scales with their weights, lamps, etc., found at Pompeii. At two o'clock we returned home and found cards from the Portuguese Minister, Torrebello, Mr. Rogers. We afterwards had visits from Mr. Rogers and his lady, and from General Ambrosio.

7. I stayed at home this morning, but Mrs. Russell and Amelia called on Mrs. Middleton. After dinner we went to see the tomb of Virgil, which we found on the side of a mountain or hill called Posilipo. To arrive at it we passed through a garden. The body of the work still remains consisting of four walls and an arch built of bricks. There are three openings or windows; on the inside are several niches, — all the ornaments have been taken away. In ascending and descending the hill we were thronged by a number of ragged, half-naked girls, from ten to thirteen years of age, who danced up and down the [roadway] in a very amusing manner, and fought for the money which we gave them, with the spirit of furies. In the evening we had a call from our countryman Davis and from our old acquaintance, the Count Voyna, who proposed a game of whist with the ladies, to which we assented, in order to remind us of Sweden.

8. We breakfasted this morning at half past seven and got into our carriage at half past eight. We called and took the Consul with us, and then proceeded to the city of Pompeii. This town is about twelve miles from Rome, and we arrived there at about eleven o'clock. We immediately took a cicerone and began our rambles. We first saw the Temple of Hercules with the triangular forum in which it is placed, the tragic and comic theatres and the Temple of Isis. We then passed over a considerable extent of

Pompeii still buried in volcanic matter, when we arrived at the amphitheatre. This amphitheatre is nearly entire, although defaced of nearly all its marbles. It gives even a more distinct idea of what it was than that of Verona. It is evidently divided for two classes of people, there being no communication between several rows of lower seats and those above. All the seats are divided into two parts by a little longitudinal rising of about an inch and a half, on the fore part of a little more than a foot, which was really the seat and the part behind, on which were placed the feet of those on the next seat was of course lower and somewhat wider. Thus the place for the seats and for the feet of the spectators was distinctly marked and prevented all interference and confusion. The seats which we had just seen at the tragic and comic theatres had not this advantage. Tacitus gives an account of a terrible quarrel which took place in this theatre between the inhabitants of Pompeii and some of the people of Nuceria, who were present, when several of the latter were killed and wounded. Livineius Regulus who gave this fête was in consequence executed by the Roman Senate,¹ and exhibitions of gladiators in this amphitheatre were forbidden for the term of ten years. Near the amphitheatre, a considerable part of the ancient walls of the city has been uncovered. I not only took a view of this part of the wall from the top of the amphitheatre but I took a ramble along it for a considerable distance and could thence form a pretty accurate conjecture of the real extent of the town. It was indeed of very respectable dimensions. We now walked through vineyards over the city which still remains covered, to nearly the opposite part which had first been explored. This part we found entirely uncovered and presenting an exact view of the temples and habitations, etc., of the ancients. All the buildings in Pompeii are of brick covered with stucco. They remain generally very perfect excepting being unroofed. The walls are painted either red or yellow with few exceptions, and on many are drawn figures of men, beast or birds, or architectural designs. Almost every house has a square court-yard in the centre, paved with mosaic and in the midst a cistern for the rain-water. The rooms are distributed round this court-yard and opening into it without any direct communication with each other. We were surprised to find most of these rooms very small not being from more than five to nine feet broad and about ten or twelve deep. They were generally, however, ten or twelve feet high. We could not find any traces of interior doors. All the utensils, furniture, etc., found in Pompeii have been removed to the Royal Academy. The

¹ Banished, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* iii, ii; xiv. 17.

name of the inhabitant is written on the outside of the house next the street in red paint. In the shops where wine and oil was re-tailed, large jars still remain supported by masonry. We also saw a bakehouse with a large oven still remaining and precisely of the form of ovens of the present day. In this bakehouse were also several mills of different shapes and sizes, all apparently worked by hand. The streets which have been cleared of the volcanic matter are precisely as they were seventeen or eighteen centuries ago. They are very narrow; say about eight feet wide besides the sideways which are about a yard wide on each side and raised about two feet, so as to be above the reach of rain-water. At the corners of the streets in order to pass to the other side are three large stones from a foot to a foot and a half high, so placed that the wheels of carriages passed between the centre stone and those on each side. The pavement was much worn by the wheels in these places, as here the carriages went in precisely the same track. In this part of the town was also a tragic theatre; a Temple of Esculapius; a Temple of Venus; a Basilica; a Forum, etc., all still magnificent. We also saw the house of Caius Sallust, which was one of the most considerable of Pompeii. The bath and the marble on which the table was placed still remain, with the surrounding floor on which they dined in cubito. After seeing these things we passed out through the gateway on the consular road which still remains entire. In the suburbs we went over the house of M. Arrius Diomedes which was spacious and delightfully situated on a hill commanding a prospect of the bay. A cellar runs all round underneath this house which has also been cleared and we went through it, and still saw some of the amphora which contained the wine resting against the wall. We also saw the tomb built by this person which according to the inscription was for *sibi et suis*, but even he did not find sepulture there as he perished in the eruption of 79 and was for centuries covered by the volcanic matter. His bones were found in his garden towards the gate which led out behind, and as in one hand he held keys and in the other money, it is supposed that he was in the act of escaping when he perished. Behind him were the bones of another person supposed to be a servant with vessels of bronze and silver. We saw also the other tombs on the consular way, and in one of them was still the vases containing the ashes of the deceased. Upon the whole the town of Pompeii impressed us with an idea of the taste and public magnificence of the ancient inhabitants, but their dwelling houses appeared to contain too little room according to our ideas of domestic comfort. The streets too, although most solidly made, were very narrow and rather rough. Indeed we can hardly suppose that carriages were much used in those times for

pleasure or personal transportation. The axle of those which marked the pavement of Pompeii could have been only about four feet long. In returning to town we stopt at the ancient site of Herculaneum and descended to the theatre which was once entirely uncovered. It has now again been filled up in such a manner as to have only narrow subterraneous passes through which we passed by candle-light, excepting under the well which was the first means of discovering the place where Herculaneum was. The orchestra was still cleared and by placing a candle at one side and passing to the other we could judge of the width of the theatre in this place. The equestrian statue of the Proconsul Albinus was found on one side of this orchestra and that of his son on the other. Upon the whole we were poorly paid for anything we saw here for the trouble of descending and ascending about seventy-five steps, and for the gloom and dampness of the place. We now returned to Naples where we arrived about half past five and kept the Consul to dine with us, and had a bottle of wine called *Lacrimae Christi*, which he found to be good, having a dryness and roughness like port. We were so fatigued with our excursion this day that we spent the evening at home, although we had an invitation at the Duchess of Nalbhoun, and another at the Princess Bellmonte.

9. I took a ride this morning with Mrs. Russell along the sea, in the fine road made by Murat. Had a call from General Ambrosio. In the evening accompanied him to the theatre of St. Charles, and sat in the box of the Princess Caramanico, which had been procured for us by the General. The theatre is one of the most magnificent in Europe, and this evening, on account of the presence of the Emperor and Empress of Austria, it was brilliantly illuminated. The entertainment was first a cantata which had no great import; then a series of dances in imitation of the national dances of other countries, and the tarantella, which is the national dance of Naples. On a signal being given, a garland was thrown over every box, which had a fine effect. The whole continued until about half past eleven, when we returned home.

10. I staid at home this morning while Mrs. Russell and Amelia paid several visits and went shopping. In the afternoon we, with the Consul, went up to the Castle of St. Elmo, from whence we had a fine view of Naples, its environs, bay, the sea, etc. In descending Mr. Hammett slipt and fell and hurt himself considerably. In the evening we went to the theatre and sat by previous invitation, in the box of the Princess Geraci. The opera was "Elizabeth" which we heard and retired before the ballet, which was "Orlando Furioso."

11. We intended this morning to have gone, with the Consul,

to Pozzuoli and Baiae, but received a note from him that his knee, from the fall yesterday, was too lame for the expedition. We then determined to change our destination for Portici. On our way thither we stop at the Consul's and I went up and found him in bed. The museum at Portici was very interesting. It contained many of the inscriptions and paintings which had been saved from the walls of Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae. Some of these paintings were very fine, particularly four which had been found at Herculaneum — Theseus after slaying the Minotaur, the Centaur Chiron teaching the young Achilles, the son of Hercules, [to] suck a doe, the river Nile and its attributes. There was also a skull of a young woman shown which had belonged to a skeleton found in Pompeii. This skeleton was dressed in cloth of solid gold with pearl ear-rings and rings on her fingers and bracelets. There were several other skeletons found about her which were supposed to be those of her servants. There was also shown us a family altar at which were worshipped the Dii Penates. We next went to the rooms containing the portraits of Murat and his children, Napoleon and his mother, Masséna, etc. We were then introduced into the palace which we found to be furnished precisely as it was when inhabited by Murat and his consort.¹ Even the little library of the latter remained untouched. There was nothing indeed wanting but the mattresses of Murat to put on the elegant bedstead, and these were to be brought in order to show the Emperor of Austria how the unfortunate man had slept in whose murder Emperors and Kings had been accomplices. The mean triumph would, it seems, be more perfect by viewing the previous magnificence of the illustrious victim. This palace commands a beautiful view of the Bay of Naples and the city and surrounding hills. We returned to town about two o'clock and soon after I received a visit from the British Minister. In the course of the conversation he appeared surprised to learn that I had not been presented to the King. I explained to him my situation and rendered him an account of the strange conduct of the Greek Mocenigo. He then said he would see Circello immediately, and left me for that purpose. About three hours afterwards I received an invitation from the Prince of Migliano to a ball given by the King this evening at his palace of Capodimonte. But as it was a very late invitation; as I had not been presented to the King, and as Mrs. Russell had not been invited, I decided not to go, but spent the evening at home in reading "Olympie," a tragedy of Voltaire.

¹ Maria Annunciata Carolina Bonaparte, youngest sister of Napoleon.

12. I went this morning again with Mrs. Russell to the Royal Stadium. We began by the *rez-de-chaussée* and saw there very leisurely all the marble statues. There are some very fine ones as well those from the Farnesian collection at Rome, such as the Hercules, Flora, etc., as several found in Herculaneum and Pompeii. We next went into the rooms containing the pictures of which we took a leisurely survey, and we purchased there a small copy of the portrait by Parmigiano for which I paid fifteen dollars. We next went into the room which contains the jewels found at Pompeii and Herculaneum, also some from the Farnesian collection; several frescos from Herculaneum and Pompeii, with a great variety of other interesting articles from these places. The rings found at Pompeii and Herculaneum are generally like those of modern times, that is joined, but there are some which are not joined but like the bracelets merely bent in a circle without being soldered. These bracelets are indeed made precisely like those worn at the present day in Calcutta and the East. I observed one pair, however, of gold which consisted of a serpent, each bent twice round. The engravings on some of the stones of the rings are remarkably fine. In this room is the finest cameo in the world. It is from the Farnesian collection. It is an agate of seven or eight inches in diameter, very transparent. One side is engraved with the apotheosis of Alexander and the other with the head of Medusa. Some of the frescos in this room are well delineated. There are here also hen's eggs found in Pompeii more than seventeen hundred years old and which externally appear quite fresh. There is also a vessel containing oil which has become nearly of the consistence of butter. The vessel itself is of glass. We were also shown wine in a jar which had been converted into a solid mass by the action of the heat of the volcanic matter or by time. We next went shopping for a short time and purchased a couple of tambourines. As it rained in the afternoon we kept [the] house until the evening, and then Mrs. Russell went without me to visit the Princess of Jablonowski, the Princess of Bellmonte, Madam Middleton and Madam Bird, and to pass a few hours at the theatre of St. Charles.

13. The Consul called and breakfasted with us this morning and we all set off together at about half past eight o'clock for Pozzuoli. We passed the Grot of Posilipo, which is a road through the mountain of that name of about a quarter of a mile in length lighted with lamps. We arrived at Pozzuoli at ten o'clock. We first went to the square to view an ancient pedestal, the four sides of which are ornamented with bas-reliefs a little obliterated. This is supposed to have been the pedestal of a statue erected to Tiberius by fourteen cities of Asia Minor, which are represented by the four-

teen figures in bas-relief. There is also in this place, a very fine statue standing on a pedestal on which is the following inscription:

Q. Flavio Mario Egnatio
Lolliano . . . D
Patrono Dignissimo —

We next went to visit the Temple of Serapis which although discovered entire, no longer ago than the year 1750, is now quite in ruins, having three pillars only standing, and the circumference in shapeless heaps. The outside building was square of one hundred and thirty-four feet long and one hundred and fifteen wide. The inner building or temple was round having a diameter of sixty-five feet. We now hired a boat for eighteen carlinos and crossed the bay towards Bajae. In passing we saw on our left the butments of the ancient mole which is now generally called the Bridge of Caligula because he continued this mole by a bridge to the opposite side. Of the bridge, however, there are no remains above water. On our right we saw the mountain of Gaurono now called Monte Barbaro, on account of its rude and barren appearance. It was this mountain, however, which formerly produced the wines so much boasted by the ancients. We also saw on our right the Monte Nuovo, because it was formed by a volcanic eruption so lately as 1538. It is very elevated and has three miles' circumference. We landed on the beach in the immediate vicinity of Lake Lucrino, anciently so renowned for its fish. It still abounds with excellent fish and oysters, but its dimensions were very much curtailed by the earthquake just mentioned, which filled up the greatest part of it. From Lake Lucrino we walked about a mile to Lake Averno. Near this lake we saw ruins which are supposed to be those of a temple of Apollo, but as some have conjectured they are probably of baths. In returning to the bay we took another path and passed through the subterraneous passage called the Grot of the Sybil of Cumae but more reasonably supposed to have been the grand canal formed by Nero, to conduct the warm waters to the promontory of Miseno. I counted about two hundred paces in passing it. On arriving at the shore we walked some distance along it to the south and came to the Baths of Nero, so-called, which are now quite in ruins excepting the subterraneous passage which conducted to the hot springs. I proceeded a short distance in this passage, but finding myself getting into an inconvenient perspiration and the difficulty of breathing increasing, I returned. There was a lad there, however, who satisfied, for trifling compensation, the curiosity of strangers in going quite to the spring and bringing thence some of

the water. He performed this enterprise for us and prepared himself for it by stripping off all his clothes excepting his pantaloons, he took with him a bucket and two eggs, and after being absent a short time he returned, making as he approached a great noise in breathing, which perhaps was theatrical and when he appeared he was literally dripping with sweat. The water in the bucket was too hot for the hand and the two eggs which he had put into it were slightly boiled, but the water we were told is not sufficiently hot to boil them quite hard. We now got into our boat and proceeded a short distance along the coast and landed in the vicinity of the temples of Venus Genetrix, Mercury and Diana Lucifera. Such, however, is the uncertainty attending most of the ancient ruins, that many suppose that these ruins belong to ancient baths, as they are situated near mineral sources and have a variety of appendages which seem not to appertain to temples. The circle of the Temple of Mercury is still entire and so perfect that a low whisper near the wall on one side is distinctly heard by a listener on the other. We again got into our boat and rowed towards the promontory. We passed many of the ruins of the ancient city of Baiae, some on the shore, but the greatest part submerged in the ocean. Julius Caesar had a country house in this city where Livia is said to have poisoned Marcellus. We landed at the ruins of the ancient village of Bauti formerly very celebrated. We saw there a subterraneous vault which is vulgarly called the Tomb of Agrippina although Tacitus says that the tomb of this woman was very humble. This vault is therefore supposed to have belonged to a theatre. A little farther on we visited what is denominated Piscina Admirabile, which was a grand reservoir of water built by Lucullus. It is still very entire and to arrive at the bottom we descended two flights of stairs of forty steps each. It is supported on forty-eight pilasters of square columns which are still, with the arches, supported by them in perfect order, and the stucco with which they are covered has become so hard that we were told snuff boxes had been made of it. We next descended into what is called Cento Camerelle, a favorite appellation for any great number of apartments. These apartments here are by some supposed to have been prisons for criminals, and were they really so, they must have been most dreary habitations. We went into several of them. We afterwards saw the shapeless ruins of the Mercato di Sabito which was a circus for equestrian exhibitions. We now took a long walk towards the promontory of Miseno, and having attained a considerable elevation in that direction we had a near and distinct view of the river Styx and the Elysian Fields beyond them. The former was a short communication between a pitiful little salt lake or pond

and the sea, and the latter a sidehill rather precipitous and covered now with trees. Over the Styx is now a bridge so of course the ferry-boat is no longer necessary. From Miseno we also had a very fine view of the islands Ischia and Procida. We now returned to our boat and recrossed the bay to Pozzuoli where we dined tolerably well. After dinner we went to the Solfatara. This is a plain of about eight hundred feet square. It was probably once a mountain and levelled by a volcano. There is undoubtedly a hollow space beneath from the sound which is occasioned by the stamp of the foot. From several places in this plain there issues a smoke and the ground thereabouts is encrusted with sulphur. The earth is also hot in many places. This plain is still surrounded with the hills which were anciently called Monte Leucogio. From the verge of these mountains in one place issued a small volume of smoke. We afterwards visited the ruins of an amphitheatre in this vicinity; some sarcophagi that had been found about two years since, and an ancient reservoir of water now used for the same purpose. We then returned to town quite fatigued.

14. We received a visit this morning from Commodore Stewart,¹ Captains Mac Donough² and Ballard,³ and my old friend Shaler.⁴ They spent some time with us and I accompanied Shaler to the British Minister's. I afterwards rode with Mrs. Russell to call on Mrs. Rogers. In the evening I was presented with Mrs. Russell to the King by the Marquis Circello. There were many of the officers of the government present, and after waiting some time the King entered and was announced by the person who preceded him, clapping the hands. He immediately came up to the Marquis Circello who stood next the door at which he entered, and received us. He conversed ten or twelve minutes with us, asking as many questions and making as many observations as he could find appropriate to the parties. There were, however, several long pauses. He then went on and received the Neapolitan officers in waiting who pressed round him and kissed his hand. He then returned again to us and having talked several minutes more, he retired and we returned home.

15. Mrs. Russell was quite unwell this morning and was obliged to let me go to the Studium without her. I met there the Commodore and the other commanders of the American ships at Naples as well as many of the officers. We stayed there until half past one. Mrs. Russell had sufficiently recovered in the afternoon to accom-

¹ Charles Stewart (1778-1869).

² Thomas Macdonough (1783-1825).

³ Henry E. Ballard (1785-1855), a master commandant at this time.

⁴ William Shaler (1778-1833).

pany me and Amelia to [a] dinner given by the British Minister. We found there the Duke of Leeds; ¹ Lord Gordon, Minister at Vienna; ² Lord Ponsonby; ³ Admiral Fremantle, ⁴ and several of their ladies. We sat down at the table at about half past six and the British Minister gave his hand to Mrs. Russell and his lady accepted mine. Immediately after dinner, which was about nine o'clock, Mrs. Russell was again taken ill and we were obliged to go home.

16. We this morning at about half past ten o'clock set off with Commodore Stewart in our travelling carriage and four horses for Cardeletto, as we had been invited by the Marquis Circello to a fête there this day and to dine at the table of the King. We reached our destination a little before noon just as the King had mounted on horseback and the Emperor, etc., had got into their carriages to ride around the ground. We met Circello at the door, who gave his arm to Mrs. Russell and told her that we should see the scene better by walking. He accordingly led the way with Mrs. Russell and Commodore Stewart and I followed. We found the ground finely shaded with oak and the peasantry from the neighbouring country grouped in little parties, enjoying their little feasts and dressed in their costume. As the Marquis was an old man decorated with many orders of nobility, many of these people mistook him for the King and cried out with great apparent joy "Viva il Re." They frequently pressed him to drink, etc. Mrs. Russell who was with him was of course taken for the Queen and participated in these attentions. One woman in particular came some distance from the party in which she was engaged, to give Mrs. Russell a full look in the face and then returned saying "Sono contenta; io ho visto la Regina." We afterwards returned to the palace and I presented the Commodore to many of the Emperor's suite and foreign Ministers. About one we sat down to dinner. After dinner the Austrian Minister told me that the Emperor would then receive the Commodore, and that he would go on board his ship on the morrow. The Commodore was accordingly presented and received this assurance from the Emperor in person. The horse-races began soon afterwards on a signal given by the King. They began by a number of mean looking horses starting with riders dressed in different colours and mounted bareback. They ran round an elliptical enclosure in front of the palace without any equality in their speed, some absolutely breaking down

¹ George William Frederick Osborne, sixth Duke of Leeds (1775-1838).

² Lord Stewart was at Vienna as Ambassador.

³ John Ponsonby, Viscount Ponsonby (1770?-1855).

⁴ Sir Thomas Fremantle (1765-1819).

after the first and second round, and the winner coming out several lengths before all the rest and more than half the course before some. About seven o'clock we set out on our return to town where we arrived about nine without accident.

17. At the request of Commodore Stewart we went this morning on board the *Franklin* a little before noon in order to dine with him and to receive the Emperor and the King. We had not been on board long, however, before the Commodore received a note from the British Admiral saying their Majesties would not be on board that day. As Admiral Fremantle had long given his invitation to this effect it was conceived proper that he should receive the first visit, which we found to be correct, and consented accordingly. Of the intention of their Majesties to defer their visit the Admiral had received a message. We staid on board, however, and dined and did not return on shore until towards evening. At my lodgings I found a note from the Grand Chamberlain of the Emperor, stating that on the opinion of the King the visit of the Emperor had been deferred till another day.

18. At nine o'clock this morning Captain Pasqualigo of the suite of the Emperor called on me to say that the Emperor and the King would go on board the *Rochfort*, an English ship of eighty guns, at four o'clock this afternoon, commanded by Admiral Fremantle, and that immediately after visiting that ship they would go on board the *Franklin* and wished me to give notice accordingly. I immediately dressed and to make all sure went on board the *Franklin* myself. I returned ashore and accompanied Mrs. Russell and Amelia on board the *Guerrière* and the *Erie*, where we had been invited by their respective commanders. After visiting every part of these ships we went on board the *Franklin* and there remained in order to aid in receiving the Emperor and King. We took a light dinner on board as we were engaged to dine this day with the Consul and had decided in putting off his dinner to a late hour in order to receive us. About four o'clock we saw the boats of the King put off from shore and direct their course towards the British ship. It was half past four when they arrived on board that ship, which had the yards manned, and a man on each truck. Immediately on their Majesties being on board two salutes of twenty-one guns were fired, without any intermission, which made it appear like a salute of forty-two guns. The Emperor and King remained on board that ship about an hour, when they put off and came on board of us. The yards and the trucks of the *Franklin*, the *Guerrière*, and the *Erie*, were manned, as those of the *Rochfort*. That ship again fired the salutes as she had done before. The Emperor and Empress of Austria, a daughter of the Emperor, his Grand-

Chamberlain, two Chamberlains, the Grand Master and Grand Mistress of the Empress, several maids of honour, the Prince of Saxony and his wife, a sister of the Emperor, an aid, and several maids of honour, the King of Naples, and his son Leopold, etc., etc., constituted the party which came on board. I accompanied the Commodore to the gangway to receive them as they came on board and Mrs. Russell received the Empress and the ladies. After the boats had hauled from along the side, the *Franklin* fired two salutes with sufficient pause between them to mark them severally. She differed also from the *Rochfort* in the manner of displaying the Austrian and Neapolitan flags. On board the *Rochfort* these flags were hoisted together on the same mast while we hoisted them distinctly on different masts. After the salutes were over we all went below into the cabin and I presented Captains Mac Donough and Ballard, Mr. Shaler, Mr. Hammett, and Lieutenant Gallegar¹ both to the Emperor and King. We then proceeded to show the ship in all parts with which all expressed themselves pleased and astonished. We then went again on the upper deck and from three boats at a little distance we exhibited a specimen of firing at a target from three of our newly invented swivels. After the imperial and royal party had been on board more than an hour and just as the Commodore was about ordering a manœuvre of the guns for the amusement of the Emperor, a most unhappy accident occurred which put an end to the exhibition and filled all with sadness. The Grand-Master of the Empress, as he was following her, in order to shorten his distance, attempted to step across the corner of the main-hatch and being near-sighted mistook the wind sail for a mast and in stretching his hand to support himself by it, lost his balance and fell through four decks into the cockpit. In this fall he broke both bones of the left leg. As all hands had just been called to quarters the surgeon and his mates were at their post and immediately performed the operation of reducing the bone in which they succeeded perfectly. When the Emperor & Co left the *Franklin*, it was half past seven o'clock and to prevent all noise that might be disagreeable to the Grand-Master, no salute was fired. About eight o'clock we went with the Commodore and dined with the Consul Hammett, whom we did not leave until eleven.

19. The Commodore came on shore this morning with Captain Mac Donough and Mr. Shaler and I accompanied them to the lodgings of the Grand-Master to enquire after his health. He received us into his bedchamber and assured us that he was entirely without pain or fever. When I expressed a wish that the accident

¹ John Gallagher.

might not make an impression unfavorable to our navy and country, he exclaimed, certainly not and that it was his fault. His gold snuff-box had fallen from his pocket while he was falling from the upper deck and somebody had picked it up and brought it to me. I availed myself of this opportunity to return it to him and he appeared to be pleased in seeing it again. He spoke in the highest terms of approbation of the tenderness and skill with which he had been treated. After leaving him I returned home and took Mrs. R[ussell] in the carriage with me. We called on Mr. Hammett and his landlady who accompanied us to make some purchases for the sea voyage which we contemplate. At half past five o'clock the Commodore came on shore and accompanied Mrs. R[ussell] Amelia and myself to Capodimonte to dine with an American by the name of Middleton who has a pretty wife. He was not, however, American enough to prefer his own countrymen to all others and he conducted to the table the wife of the British Consul and not the wife of the American Minister. In the evening we had a small party at whist and we returned to town about midnight.

20. I called this morning on my bankers Messrs. Falconette & Co. and took up seven hundred and twenty ducats equal to six hundred dollars which added to ninety-three ducats before drawn, makes in all six hundred and seventy-seven dollars and sixty cents. I afterwards called on the British Minister and on the Danish Consul General at Algiers, and as neither of them was at home, I left cards for them and their ladies. I then called on the Baron Stainlein, the Bavarian Minister¹ at the Court of Vienna and invited him to accompany me on board the *Franklin*. He assented and one o'clock called on me with the Prince [], who is of the suite of the Emperor and we went on board all three together. These gentlemen after seeing the ship returned on shore but I remained on board and dined. After dinner I went with the Commodore and the Captains of the other ships on board the brig *Spark* and she got under way, after making a stretch towards the town and running under the stern of the King's yacht and bowing to him as he stood on the quarter-deck. We tacked and run along the coast towards Pompeii and a little before sunset came to an anchor about two miles from the land. We all remained on board that night. We sent the pilot on shore to procure carriages for the next morning.

21. We turned out this morning, as the sailors express it, and after taking an early breakfast got into the boats and rowed on shore. We found the carriages ready and we immediately drove to

¹ He was chargé d'affaires.

Pompeii. We went over the place in the same direction as I had done with Mrs. Russell and Amelia on the eighth instant and I discovered nothing new to attract my attention. We dined at a modern house on provisions which we had taken with us, after we had finished our rambles. Just as we were leaving the place, Baron Schubart and Count Voyna arrived with a party of Polish ladies. We returned on board the *Spark* about eleven o'clock and immediately got under way. We dined there about four o'clock and came to an anchor off Naples about five and reached my lodgings in town at six.

22. We had a visit this morning from the Commodore and while he was with us Mr. Howard and Mr. Mac Donald from Baltimore and Mr. Van Rensselaer from New York called and invited us to dinner for to-morrow. I next called on the Grand Master of the Empress and found that the surgeons had taken off the bandages this morning, and found everything in excellent order. I then went to the Consul's and thence shopping with Mrs. Russell. I afterwards called on Baron Schubart and found him asleep. I then went and took a warm bath and returned home at four o'clock to dinner. After dinner I took a walk with Amelia in the Villa Reale or King's garden, where we met with Captains Ballard and Nicholson¹ and Doctor Heap. I staid at home in the evening and Mr. Davis came and spent half an hour with me. Mrs. Russell went out and made several visits. I have omitted to say above that about three o'clock I called on Prince Metternich but found that he was out. I saw, however, the Chevalier Floret and stated to him my object. This was to comply with the wishes of the Commodore in inviting the Prince on board the *Franklin*. The Chevalier informed me that the Prince was engaged to go to Castel del Mare to-morrow and to Caserta on Monday, whence he would not return till Wednesday and that he would set off for Rome on Friday so that Thursday was the only day which he would be at Naples and would inform me if his engagements were such as to permit him to go on board at that time.

23. I remained at home this morning occupied in writing. Mrs. Russell went to see the pension house of young women but was not admitted by the directress. Received several calls. Dined with Messrs. Howard, Mac Donald and Van Rensselaer, three American gentlemen, and in the evening played at billiards with my old friend Shaler.

24. Called this morning on the Grand-Master of the Empress and found him getting on well. I then went and made a little in-

¹ Joseph J. Nicholson.

vestment in stores. When this was completed I called on the Consul and accompanied him and Mr. Shaler to the prison to see Mr. Bullett of Maryland who had been confined there by the police. I found him to be a very well educated and intelligent young man with considerable eccentricity and very meanly clad. I was fully convinced that there was no sufficient cause for his confinement. I gave a dinner this day to Commodore Stewart, Capt. Mac Donough, Capt. Ballard, Capt. Nicholson, Capt. Thompson,¹ Mr. Shaler, Mr. Hammett, Mr. Galliger, Mr. Weaver,² Mr. Howard, Doctor Heap, Mr. Myers, Mr. Ellery, and Mr. Harris. Dr. Satin, Mr. Bourne, and Count Voyna were invited but did not come. I am sorry to say that the dinner was very indifferent and badly served. At eight o'clock I accompanied Capt. Mac Donough and Mr. Shaler to the billiard room and played till ten. On my return home I found there several of the gentlemen who had dined with us and the addition of Mr. Davis and Count Voyna.

25. At eleven o'clock this morning Count Voyna called on me by engagement and I accompanied him on board the *Franklin*, and after he had examined that vessel I went with him on board the *Guerrière*. We then returned on shore, and as it rained I remained at home until four o'clock, when Voyna came and dined with us. Mrs. Russell left us soon after dinner, and rode to Capo di Monte, in order to procure a stock of fresh milk for our voyage. The horses behaved very bad and she was obliged to jump out of the carriage and leave them on the road. After walking a considerable distance through the rain and mud, she took a hack and returned home about nine o'clock, fatigued, wet, and dirty.

26. I spent most of this morning in making preparations for the voyage. About two o'clock Commodore Stewart and Mr. Shaler called on me and informed me that in consequence of a council of war holden on board this morning, the voyage to Greece, Egypt, etc., had been abandoned, and that the squadron would proceed immediately to Gibraltar. The idea of sooner reaching our own country amply indemnified us all for all disappointment. It still continued to rain and we spent the remainder of the day at home.

27. I called on the Consul this morning and engaged him to send my accounts to-morrow morning. I then called on the Marquis of Torrebelló, the Portuguese Minister, and reminded him of his offer of a letter to his agent at Madeira for a pipe of the best wine from the estate of Torrebelló, and he gave me the letter ac-

¹ Charles C. B. Thompson, a master commandant.

² William A. Weaver, a lieutenant.

cordingly. This letter secures to me only a pipe of the best wine on my paying the value of it. After my return Consul Guerdin called with his wife and made us a visit of about an hour. After dinner I went with Mrs. Russell shopping and made several purchases, among others a lyre-formed guitar. In the evening Commodore Stewart, Mr. Shaler and Mr. Weaver called on us to tea and staid until half past ten o'clock. The Prince Metternich had engaged to visit the ship this morning but sent an apology, as he was obliged to take leave of the King to set out on his return to Rome to-morrow. Several gentlemen, however, were on board and the Commodore, for their amusement, presented them with the exercise of the great guns, boarding, etc.

28. I called after eleven o'clock this morning on the American Consul, but found that he was gone on board the squadron. I then accompanied Mrs. Russell to the Studium, where we spent two hours. We saw particularly the apartments which contain the ancient utensils and arms, in which, however, are several articles of a different description, such as musical instruments, chirurgical instruments, etc. The neatness of the copper sauce-pans, etc. was, very admirable, and they were generally lined with silver to render them wholesome. The steelyards I again examined and found them as before, exactly to resemble those of modern times, weighing on both sides with different powers, etc., but the pound appeared to be divided into sixths instead of fourths. There was the remains of a lady's toilet, in which were little mirrors, round and square, which were made of a composition of silver and bronze and burnished to reflect with great power, but they were now dimmed with rust. There was even a little pot containing rouge which had preserved its colour for more than seventeen hundred years. Among the medical remains were huge pills and boluses, of half an inch diameter, which could with difficulty have been swallowed through a throat of modern dimension. In these apartments we also admired the elegance and variety of the lamps. From these apartments we passed through those containing the pictures into those containing the sepulchral vases. Although there are above two thousand of these vases, there are no two of them of precisely the same form and size. These vases have been very exactly imitated at the present day in everything excepting the lightness of the material, and the permanency of the colours, which have hitherto been found to be inimitable, the modern vases being uniformly much more heavy and the colours easily obliterated by time or friction. These vases were all used for the tomb. There are two kinds, large, to contain the ashes of the dead; and very small, to contain the tears of the living. The paintings on them were adapted to the

character of the deceased, for the soldier, heroic, for the statesman, civique, for beauty, amatory, etc. Besides the paintings there were also placed in the tomb articles likewise characteristic of the deceased; arms for the first, a scroll for the second, and even rouge for the third, etc. The manner of the interring was as follows: a tomb of an oblong square, with the skeleton stretched longitudinally on its back, the vase containing the ashes of the combustible parts at the head, or elsewhere, and the small lacrimal vases on the breast, etc. The Studium shuts at two o'clock, and we were obliged to leave it at that hour. We spent the rest of the time until dinner. Before we rose from [the] table Commodore Stewart and Doctor Heap called to invite us to a walk, but as we had made our arrangements to visit the Grotta del Cane, we declined their invitation. They left us and we set out for the grotto at five o'clock. We passed through the Grotta of Posilipo, and in less than three-quarters of an hour we arrived at the lake of Agnano. Although this sheet of water is called a lake it does not much exceed the ordinary dimensions of a mill pond. Immediately on the margin of this lake, and but a few rods from the road, is the Grotta del Cane. A woman attended us to the spot and with a key opened a door by which the mouth of the grotto is shut. We found it to be a hole in the side of the hill ten or twelve feet in length, about four feet wide, and at the entrance about eight or nine feet, but rapidly lowering as you proceed, and at the farthest end almost forming an angle. The woman had a little white dog with her which she laid on its back inside the cave, and at the end of two or three minutes it gasped, foamed at the mouth, and became to all appearances lifeless. The woman then threw it on the ground on the outside of the cave and it almost instantaneously recovered and ran about as if it had suffered nothing. The woman then held a lighted torch within eight or ten inches of the ground and it became immediately extinct. This experiment was repeated several times and always with the same result. Notwithstanding the common opinion, I believed that I smelt a slight odor in the cave. We afterwards visited by the side of the road and close to the cave, several rooms which have been built in modern times, and which are filled with warm sulphuric vapour which proceeds from holes in the sides and which produces copious perspiration. These rooms are used by rheumatic and asthmatic people, and there are seats round the room on which the sick may lie or sit. The vapour which comes from the wall is, close to it, very hot, and leaves about the overture an incrustation of sulphur and saltpetre. We arrived back to town at seven o'clock and spent the evening at home having a visit which lasted until ten o'clock from Madam.

29. I went shopping again this morning with Mrs. R[ussell] and among other things purchased some of the new fashioned silk for gowns at six carlinos forty grains¹ the canna-ell. I afterwards went and settled with my bankers, Falconette & Co., and drew for their advances to me on Messrs. Hottinguer & Co. at Paris. I now left Mrs. Russell at our lodgings and proceeded along to the Studium, that I might visit there a particular room which I had not hitherto seen. Although it was past two o'clock, the keepers admitted me into the room I desired to see. It was filled with some of the most curious remains of antiquity in bronze, marble and fresco. There was a painter present copying some of the latter which had been injured. The contents of this room presents the strongest proof of the peculiar manners of the ancients and of their most remarkable superstition. After leaving the Studium I called and left cards to take leave of Counsellor Guerdin, Sir William à Court,² and the Prince Jablonowski. About four o'clock I rode with Mrs. R[ussell] to the other end of the city, in order to witness the drawing of the lottery. We arrived in time and were very civilly provided with convenient seats to see the ceremony behind the presiding judges. These judges were five in number, dressed in grand costumes of black. Their seats were raised three or four steps above the floor which was crowded with spectators anxiously awaiting their fate. Immediately behind the judges were two rows of seats which appeared to be filled by lazzaroni and the lowest order of the people. There was an urn before the judges which contained the numbers. When the ceremony began a person standing before the judges received the urn and turned and shook it violently in full view of all present. He then returned it to the judge who sat on the left, who opened the top of the urn with a key or instrument adapted to that purpose. A lad of fourteen or fifteen years of age standing erect on that side crossed himself, and then holding up his hand open to show the spectators that there was nothing in it, put it into the urn and thence drew a little ball between his thumb and finger, which he also held up in full view, and then passed it to the principal judge who sat in the middle. The judge then opened the ball and drew out a slip of paper on which a number was written. This number he immediately passed to a person behind him who appeared to be a lazzarone, and who proclaimed the number with a very loud voice. The ceremony was continued five times which is the whole amount of numbers drawn. On the proclamation of every number there was great agitation among the attending multi-

¹ A carline was, Neapolitan coin, a tenth of a ducat, or ten grains.

² William A'Court, Baron Heytesbury (1779-1860).

tude, and pleasure or disappointment was strongly depicted on their countenances, principally the latter. We now returned home and Mrs. Russell and Amelia went to visit Mrs. Bird and the Princess of Bellmonte, and did not return until half past eleven o'clock.

LAMON'S "LIFE OF LINCOLN."

UNION CLUB,
BOSTON, December 5, 1910.

MY DEAR SIR:

I give you below my recollections of the incidents connected with the preparation and publication of the first volume of Lamon's "Life of Abraham Lincoln," the only volume of the work published. This volume was published in 1872 by James R. Osgood & Co., of which firm I was then a member, and I had full charge of the publication. You are at liberty to make such use of the following statement as may serve the purpose of historic truth. Very truly yours,

JOHN SPENCER CLARK.

HORACE WHITE, Esq.,
18 West 69th Street,
New York.

I. About 1868 I learned that W. H. Herndon was preparing a life of Mr. Lincoln, and that he had a quantity of fresh material that would throw new light on some phases of Mr. Lincoln's life and character. I opened correspondence in the name of my firm with Mr. Herndon with reference to the publication of his work. This correspondence was continued for some time, Mr. Herndon not being ready to submit his copy.

II. Some time in 1870 Col. Ward H. Lamon appeared on the scene as the owner of all the Herndon material, which he had purchased,¹ and also as the possessor of much other valuable material which he had procured through his acquaintance and semi-official connection with Mr. Lincoln, and he came prepared "to talk business" in the matter of publication. I was convinced that Colonel Lamon had the material, and he stated that this material was to be used and put in literary form by Chauncey Black, a clever writer, and a son of Jeremiah Black, a tough, hard-headed old democrat of the pro-slavery school, and a leading, if not the dominating spirit on constitutional questions in the Buchanan Cabinet.

III. I raised objection to a life of Mr. Lincoln being prepared under such apparently hostile influences, and Colonel Lamon as-

¹ See Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon*, 306.

sured me that nothing politically hostile to Mr. Lincoln should go into the work; that Mr. Black was a great admirer of Mr. Lincoln, and that the work should be in full sympathy with the fundamental points in Mr. Lincoln's life and character. Colonel Lamon later brought Mr. Black to see me, and he also assured me of his loyalty to Mr. Lincoln, and his good faith in presenting the political aspects of his career. On the strength of these assurances we entered into a contract for publication.

IV. While the proofs of the early chapters as they came in to me showed a lack of appreciation of the finer qualities of Mr. Lincoln's nature, and a disposition to keep the rougher, coarser, aspects of his pioneer life prominent, I saw nothing I could positively object to until I received the proofs of Chapter xv, purporting to give a brief history of the Kansas struggle. Here I saw well known historic facts perverted to shield the pro-slavery democratic party from "high crimes and misdemeanors" in their attempt to bring in Kansas as a slave state. I protested to Colonel Lamon that the account was not only untrue, but was also wholly inconsistent with Mr. Lincoln's position on the Kansas question. After considerable discussion and the exhibition of much feeling on the part of Mr. Black, Colonel Lamon fully sustained me and authorized me to substitute the text as it now stands in place of what had been prepared by Mr. Black.

V. This experience with the Kansas matter made me suspicious of Mr. Black's good faith, and when the proofs came of the chapter pretending to give an historic record of the very memorable period between Mr. Lincoln's election and his inauguration, it was only too evident that justice to Mr. Lincoln during this critical period was sacrificed to an effort to extenuate if not excuse the shambling policy of the Buchanan administration — a policy which weakly supported the Constitution with one hand, while attacking it vigorously with the other hand. I put the matter squarely before Colonel Lamon and he saw the unwisdom, if not the absurdity, of compromising Mr. Lincoln in the slightest degree at this great period when in the tremendous swirl of political complications his was the sanest mind of all — sanest not only because he stood for the Union, but also for the inherent power of the Union under the Constitution to protect itself.

Mr. Black's effort to condone the interpretation of the Constitution by the Buchanan Administration during its last days — an interpretation which Mr. Lincoln had to fight during his whole term — in a life of Lincoln, was therefore unceremoniously cut out, as appears at the bottom of page 527; and although I have not

a distinct recollection of the details that followed, I do know that Mr. Black was greatly angered, that there was a split, and that we got no more copy for the work.

VI. Colonel Lamon impressed me as a man of fair intelligence and good sense, gained by a sort of rough and tumble experience, and while in no way a man of literary culture or of positive convictions in regard to the higher phases of Mr. Lincoln's character, he was an admirer of Mr. Lincoln as an honest political statesman, and in the matter of having Mr. Lincoln's life truly set forth he only needed to have the truth shown to him to stand by it. I think he at first put full confidence in Black, that there was a sort of good-fellowship understanding between them that was "busted" when Lamon saw clearly that Black's adherence to the flesh-pots of his democratic faith was stronger than his desire to see full justice done to Mr. Lincoln's memory.

VII. The publication of the work, which was entered upon with a belief in its historic importance, and high anticipation of its commercial success, came, with the publication of the first volume, to an untimely end. No more work was done upon it and the undertaking proved a losing venture all around; and I came to class the outcome as among those publishing experiences which show the futility of endeavoring to combine essentially antagonistic elements in the production of an important literary work.